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HISTORY

OF THE

ENGLISH REVOLUTION.

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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

ENGLISH REVOLUTION.

BY

F. E. DAHLMANN,

LATE PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF GÖTTINGEN.

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TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

BY H. EVANS LLOYD.

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

THE object of the work here introduced to the notice of the British public, is to trace the rise, progress, and final completion of the English Revolution of 1688; to exhibit all the singular events of that important era, without the party-spirit of the English historians, on the one hand, or the tameness of the German, on the other; and, omitting all details not immediately bearing on the subject, to give a grand and faithful picture of one of the mightiest events in the history of the world. The high reputation of Professor Dahlmann justified the expectation that he would produce a work worthy of the subject. In the opinion of his own countrymen, at least, this expectation has been more than fulfilled. The History of the English Revolution was received in the most flattering manner, and was soon out of print. To show the estimation in which it is held in Germany, I subjoin some extracts from a searching review, published in the "Augsburg Allgemeine Zeitung," the ablest, the best conducted, and the most influential of the German journals: —

"Dahlmann's History of the English Revolution will, undoubtedly, have a most extensive circulation, and be received with unmixed approbation by all the

intelligent classes of our countrymen. Few subjects so important and attractive have ever been handled so ably and thoroughly, and, what is so rare in Germany, with such freedom and maturity of thought." . . . "Among our numerous great historical works, there are few in which a subject, embracing so vast a variety of details, is compressed with such pregnant brevity — where every deviation into tempting by-paths is so happily avoided, and a grand and faithful picture of one of the mightiest events in the annals of mankind is presented to the reader. We are not annoyed with the dust of the library; we have no wilderness of notes — no trace of the midnight oil: we feel that it is the fruit of many years' profound study, purified in the process of fermentation, and presented to us in one compact, well-digested whole." . . . "The drawing of individual characters is spirited and decided, without any laborious over-finishing of petty details in the Dutch style. The greatness and the infirmity of the Virgin Queen could scarcely be depicted with more simplicity and truth than in the words, 'Elizabeth inherited all the passions of her father — his haughtiness and his love of pleasure, together with a very considerable portion of the unamiable qualities of her grandfather; but, after the most violent internal struggles, the interest of the state prevailed.' The psychological discrimination of character rises, in some places, to the most consummate historical art; in others to the most dignified pathos: and we feel ourselves deeply moved, when it is observed of the unhappy forsaken Charles I., 'Charles was placed

between England and Scotland in a position like that of the aged Lear — between his hard-hearted daughters Regan and Goneril.' "

I would willingly quote other passages from this Review; but these will suffice to show the opinions entertained of the work in Germany, for other critiques are in the same style of panegyric.

With respect to the translation, I find it necessary to add a few words, especially for those who may be disposed to compare it with the original. As the subject related to English history, it was indispensable not merely to translate, but to give the various sayings, speeches, and official documents, in the very terms of the originals, when they could be conveniently procured. Recourse, therefore, has been had to Rapin, Clarendon, Hume, Lingard, Miss Strickland, and other writers. These aids, together with the general knowledge which a translator ought to possess of his subject, have led to the detection of some (perhaps typographical) errors, and to one or two misapprehensions of facts.

In conclusion, the translator begs to state that he has carefully collated all the material facts and dates with the English historians; and he will esteem himself fortunate if he shall be the means of directing the attention of the British public to the work of Professor Dahlmann, who is no less esteemed for the depth of his erudition, than for the soundness of his judgment, and the liberality of his views.

H. EVANS LLOYD.

London, 1st June, 1844.

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HISTORY

OF THE

ENGLISH REVOLUTION.

INTRODUCTION.

SHOULD any person be tempted to despair of the French nation, because nearly two generations have passed away since its great revolution, and it has not yet regained a state of repose, let him call to mind that the English nation required more than two centuries to bring their revolution to its completion, and to recover from its effects. Traces of this revolution, both in Church and State, may be discovered as far back as the reign of the Tudors, when the governing power bore with heavy pressure upon the lower classes; until, under the Stuarts, a violent reaction took place, which shook both the Church and the State to their very foundations. It is true that although no portion of the varied history of mankind is so barren as to hold out no recompence to the labourer, yet there are some tracts in her domain, whose exuberantly fertile soil yields a double and triple harvest. Such portions, while they are deeply instructive, at the same time open a vista extending to more distant ages, solve

questions that embarrass the present, and even partially remove the veil that conceals the future. Such, if I am not mistaken, is that portion of the history of England which is the object of my present investigation. There is perhaps no other period in the annals of modern history fraught with such manifold instruction; it opens the way to an accurate judgment of the most important events of our own times—the revolutions of North America and France, which have changed the face of two quarters of the globe.

The interval is indeed long between Queen Boadicea, who knew no resource but voluntary death, to escape subjection to the Romans, and Queen Victoria, who now prescribes laws to the vast empire of China; yet we may venture to take a rapid glance at the state of ancient Britain. During the eleven hundred years that elapsed between the landing of Julius Cæsar and that of William the Conqueror, the ground was prepared on which the future destiny of England was to be founded. Celtic Britain, under the sway of many petty princes was succeeded by the sole domination of Rome, and Celtic and Roman heathenism by Christianity. Then came the Saxons and Angles, the Frieslanders and Jutes, first heathens, then Christians, originally divided into several kingdoms, subsequently united into one, at the time of Charlemagne and his pious son; next succeeded a
1066. short period of Danish rule; and lastly, in 1066, the victorious Normans became undisputed masters of the whole realm. Never was the face of a political soil so thoroughly ploughed up and changed as that of Britain.

The Conqueror formed an army of 60,000 cavalry,

which was furnished by about 1400 great immediate feudataires and 8000 mediates. There were besides at that time about 250,000 landowners in England, enjoying various degrees of liberty, and 25,000 slaves: the whole of England might contain a population of 2,000,000. London and York were the only cities which had more than 10,000 inhabitants. Many towns lay in ruins, partly in consequence of the acts of violence which attended the Conquest, and partly because many dwellings had been recklessly demolished to supply materials for the erection of castles, to keep the vanquished in awe. At that time England still contained extensive forests; yet William transformed a large tract on the sea coast near Winchester, which comprehended sixty parishes, into a vast hunting ground. He caused all the churches and villages within its compass to be burned down, and enacted the most rigorous laws for the preservation of game: the penalty for killing a deer, for instance, was the loss of both eyes.

The scene of the monarch's death at Rouen on the 9th of September, 1087, exhibits, in striking colours, the moral character of his reign. We here behold the body of the aged king, from which the vital spark had scarcely fled, lying naked on the floor, and abandoned by all his attendants. His unprincipled sons have hastened to seize upon the inheritance. His bishops, his courtiers, and his physicians, are gone, while his servants are eagerly engaged in plundering the royal palace. At length, with much difficulty, a funeral car is procured, and the solemn service begins. Suddenly a loud voice overpowers the deep notes of the dirge, and pronounces the all-prevailing bann of Rollo:— "This 1087.

ground was my father's; the king wrested it from him by force. Make instant restitution, or remove the corpse." The prelates guarantee the indemnity, and then — as the corpse is hastily lowered into the grave — the heavy body bursts, corruption had already silently conquered the bastard of Robert le Diable.

Were we, however, to judge of the entire character of the man by this disgraceful scene, and see in William only the tyrannical and hated despot, we should greatly err. An important principle of political culture guided his actions, which united the motley population of England, and subjected it to a uniform government. To the feudal system by which Germany is divided, England is mainly indebted for its unity; for here was effected at once, and to the advantage of the whole, that which, in Germany, was the work of centuries, after the system of the elective monarchy, and the division of the empire into numerous principalities, had been long introduced. The fiefs into which William distributed the immense possessions which he had seized, were from the very beginning as hereditary and indivisible as his crown; they were not lost, except when the feudatory, or the family of the holder, forfeited the fief by disloyalty. The same was the case with the arrière fees, which were granted for cavalry service. The king likewise bound the arrière vassals to himself by the oath of allegiance, and did not permit them to swear fealty to their barons, but with the express reservation of their duties to the king and his heirs. By these means he attached the whole of the great national army, in all its branches, to the sovereign, and further contrived to make the fiefs, though they were hereditary, in many respects depen-

dent, and profitable to the crown. Not only were escheats and forfeitures frequent, not only did the king in certain cases, as for instance on the marriage of his eldest daughter, demand contributions from his barons; but on every change in the fief, the heir had to pay a fixed sum for entering on possession; while in the event of a minority, the king was the guardian, and in the interim received the revenues. On any deviation of the principle that the heir was to receive the fief, alone and undivided — on application for a partition, and especially for the alienation of a portion of the estate, large sums were demanded for the royal consent. On the extinction of the male line, if the fief fell to a daughter, the king, in order to preserve its military character, insisted on the right of marrying her according to his pleasure.

In this manner the feudal system, which has impoverished so many crowns, became a source of revenue to King William, who, in fact, never suffered any thing to escape him which could tend to his advantage. Thus when after the conquest he seized on the ancient domains of the crown, added to them the extensive forfeited Anglo-Saxon estates, and richly endowed his Norman nobles with hereditary fiefs, he did not lose sight of what he had given away. He knew perfectly well what portion of his fief every baron cultivated by vassals, and what portion by tenants, but especially the number and territory of his mounted arrière vassals. "He knew," says the Chronicle, "every hide of land, by whom it was possessed, and what was its value." The truth of this assertion is proved by the great register, commonly called Doomsday Book, which is still preserved, and which he

caused to be compiled, with the aid of the courts of justice. The law of primogeniture, which he founded, is inseparably entwined with the English constitution, and hereditary right and penal law, bear to this day the impress of his legislation.

Here, too, we trace the origin of the ancient English peerage, or old parliament of England, except that among the barons we must reckon the prelates, who likewise did homage for their extensive landed possessions. Till the middle of the thirteenth century, the prelates and the great barons alone, constituted the king's council (his *parliament*) and the royal tribunal, both administering justice collectively, or travelling in divisions through the counties for the same purpose. Whenever it was found necessary to levy a tax, advantage was taken of these journeys to obtain the required sum, by negotiating with the different towns and counties; for there was not at that time any assembly attached to the parliament, empowered to grant taxes upon occasions of urgent necessity. Deputies from the shires, or knights chosen by the inhabitants, were summoned before the king to make arrangements respecting the contributions. The king afterwards indemnified them for the expenses of their journey, which were subsequently refunded by the respective counties for which they appeared as deputies, whereas the peers attended in their own right, and consequently at their own charge.

1264. In this state of things the crisis of the year 1264 intervened, when the barons made war on Henry III. and took him prisoner. The supreme authority was usurped by Count Simon de Montfort, who being

compelled to seek the support of the deputies from the boroughs, cities, and counties, summoned them to assemble in parliament. The crisis passed away, but the innovations of the year 1264 continued in force; 1264.
and Edward I., son of Henry III., made a permanent institution of an expedient adopted by the enemy of his family. The newly summoned deputies, however, did not meet in the same house with those who sat in parliament in their own right, but formed a distinct assembly in an apartment assigned to them. From that time we meet with the distinction of the House of Lords and the House of Commons. The former were consulted on affairs of state and the concerns of the church, and the latter on those relating to trade and commerce. The deputies of the counties, though they claimed equestrian rank, made no difficulty of sitting in the elective chamber with the deputies of the towns and boroughs, who were merchants and artisans. Both parties were led to this union by mutual interest and the common ground of their qualification. It was equally natural that the elective chamber should claim the exclusive right of granting taxes, since these were paid by the commons alone.

At that time, a greater freedom of action began to obtain in all the concerns of life. The male line of the Normans had ceased to sit on the throne since the year 1154, and it was now occupied, in right of a Norman princess, by the house of Anjou, which was called Plantagenet, from bearing a sprig of broom as its device. The equal pressure which had borne upon all classes in England from the time of the Conqueror (who even introduced the language of the victors into the parliament and the supreme courts of

justice), produced at length a general reaction. In the year 1215 the most cruel of the game laws were abolished, and the rights of the people secured by the Magna Charta, which relieved the arrière vassals from those services from which the barons were exempt. It likewise introduced equal weights and measures throughout the whole kingdom; and, what is more important, secured equal justice to all the subjects of the realm. No Englishman could henceforth be deprived of liberty of person and property, except by law and a jury of his peers. "The English," says De Lolme, "would have been a free people from that moment, were there not so wide a difference between the giving of laws and their observance." The protective laws were not yet completed; for it was not till fifty years after the granting of Magna Charta, that the commons were called to parliament, and obtained, after a severe struggle, the formal recognition of the principle, that matters relative to taxation should no longer be decided by itinerant judges, but by the lower house. Edward I., though so great a monarch, was at constant variance with Magna Charta. He was obliged to confirm it no less than eleven times, in order to repair its infringements; and ultimately gave a specific assurance, by which the right of imposing taxes is especially attributed to the commons alone. Under his son Edward II., the lower house began to annex petitions, or more properly speaking conditions, to its grants of taxes, and thus laid the foundation of its legislative power. In the reign of Edward III. the commons declared that their consent was indispensable, to the validity of the laws, but that they would not interfere in questions of

general policy, or in those relating to war and the army.

The law which was at that time in force, required that the parliament should assemble at least once a year. The allowance of a knight, who sat in the lower house, was four shillings a day, and that of a citizen half that sum. The English language was restored; and the use of French, both in parliament and the courts of justice, abolished. Nearly two centuries had elapsed since the Norman conquest, when parliament was for the first time opened in the English language. From this era the liberties of the people were rapidly developed, even under the most eminent and warlike monarchs, who subdued Ireland and triumphed in France. Towards the close of the fourteenth century the presumption of a weak-minded king led to a violent change in the sovereignty, the consequence of which was the relaxing of the general bonds of obedience, which naturally induced a return to despotic power. Richard II., son of the Black Prince and grandson of Edward III., was dethroned and murdered by another grandson of the same monarch, who belonged to the third or Lancastrian line; and ascending the throne by the title of Henry IV., triumphed over all opposition. The heroism of his son Henry V. eclipsed even that of the Black Prince; but it only led England still further astray into the delusive paths of conquest. The victor of France confessed on his early death-bed, that he had intended to crown all his achievements by rescuing Jerusalem from the hands of the Saracens. He left the crowns of England and France to his son Henry VI., an infant only nine months old; 1399 to 1400.

but this baby-king never outgrew the cradle. Besides the general imbecility of his character, he was subject to such total impotency that he lost all consciousness and memory, and was reduced to utter helplessness both of body and mind. All France, with little more than the exception of Calais, was lost; and
1471. Henry experienced the fate of Richard II. from the ambition of the princes of the house of York, the fourth male line of the royal family of Edward III. The war between the two contending factions of the Red and White Roses of Lancaster and York now
1452 to 1485. broke out. This war desolated England for a whole generation, annihilating the greater part of the royal family, and sweeping away more than half of the nobility.

The interruption of the constantly progressive advance to freedom, which had taken place under the great Edward, must be considered as of the highest importance. Its form, it is true, still remained, to the inestimable advantage of future ages; but the spirit of internal peace and conciliation was gone, and two centuries passed away before, by a wonderfully complex train of events, it was again recovered. These two centuries will now engage our attention.

CHAPTER I.

The Tudors.

1485 to 1603.

Henry VII. 1485—1509.

On the fall of Richard III. of York in the battle of Bosworth — the most sanguinary tyrant that ever disgraced the crown — Henry, Earl of Richmond, ascended the throne. There was a universal yearning for repose. The long-continued hostilities with France, and the civil war between the Roses, had undermined the welfare of the people, and disturbed the development of the national economy.*

* Agriculture and the breeding of cattle had improved in the thirteenth century. In proportion as the forests of England were thinned, the breeding of swine was abandoned for that of horses, oxen, and sheep. This is always a sign of advance in agriculture, for the horned cattle not only afford food to man, but improve the land by tillage and manure, while the sheep supply him with clothing. Such rapid progress had been made in England in this respect, that in the fourteenth century several nobles possessed 2000 oxen, nearly as many swine, 500 horses, and 24,000 sheep. The English had, besides, a sufficient surplus of wool, to form a valuable article of exportation, which was eagerly purchased by the Hanseatic league. Ox hides, also, were exported by the Hanseatic merchants, who, since the year 1250, had their factory, called the Steel-yard, in London, at the head of which were the Cologne merchants. This export trade was limited to eleven English and three Irish ports. A duty of one mark was paid for every sack of wool; but when Edward I., at the time of his disputes with France, demanded three marks per sack of coarse wool, five marks for fine, and the same sum for a last of hides (144 hides), the duty suddenly fell on the sellers, and the

The claim of the Tudors to the crown of England rested on the following foundation. When Catherine of France, daughter of Charles VI., lost her heroic husband Henry V. of England, her infant son Henry VI. remained under the guardianship of his uncles, while she, following the example of her sister-in-law, the Dowager Duchess of Bedford, gave her hand to a Welsh nobleman named Owen Theodor or Tudor. The husbands of both these ladies were severely punished, because they had presumed to unite themselves with vassals of the crown without the royal permission. After the death of Catherine, Tudor was

price declined. The purchasers also suffered by the financial difficulties of the crown, for the king extorted from them a loan, equal to the value of the wool which they purchased. When besides these, demands of cattle and wheat were made for the supply of the army in France, the barons and commons did not rest till they had obtained from the king the concession respecting the taxes (de tallagio non concedendo). The Hanseatic merchants found means amply to indemnify themselves for their losses. This was so notorious, that it became a common saying on the Continent, "We purchase from the English the fox's skin for a penny, and sell them the fox's tail for a florin." The raw wool was exported at a low rate by foreign merchants, who imported it when manufactured, and sold it at a high price. England bore what could not be avoided. She had neither ships nor manufactures to compete with the Hanseatic league, and even when Edward III. engaged Flemish manufacturers to settle in England, and forbid the importation of Hanseatic woollen cloths, the prohibition could not be enforced. Later attempts of Richard II. and Edward IV. were equally unsuccessful.

The ordinary revenues of the crown, had nominally increased but little since the Conquest, while its wants were more numerous, and a pound sterling went by no means so far as formerly. The annual income of the crown at that time scarcely amounted to as many thousands as the parliament now grant millions, *i. e.* 40,000*l.* or 50,000*l.*; and in the war of the Roses, the revenues declined to 5000*l.* As, however, the public expenditure was to be provided for, and war carried on, it was necessary to have recourse to extraordinary taxes, and to contract debts. The public debt increased under Henry VI. from 144,000*l.* to 372,000*l.*, which was considered as a burden absolutely intolerable. To this was added the impoverishment of families, the confused state of affairs in general, the insufficiency of the laws, the insecurity of the most important right of all, that to the crown, at the time when the first of the Tudors ascended the throne.

imprisoned, but subsequently set at liberty. He faithfully adhered to the cause of his royal step-son, was taken prisoner when fighting under his standard, and beheaded in 1461. He had three sons by Catherine, the eldest of whom, Edmund, was the father of Henry VII. The rank of his grandmother could not give young Henry any claim to the English throne; but as all the sons of Catherine had been elevated to the rank of the chief nobility of England, Edmund, who had been created Earl of Richmond, was qualified to ask in marriage Margaret, great grand-daughter of John, Duke of Lancaster, son of Edward III., and founder of the Lancastrian line. Henry Richmond was the issue of this marriage. His descent on his mother's side gave him, in the public opinion, a title to the throne; and in the war of the Roses the house of Tudor did not escape the suspicious jealousy of the house of York. Henry avoided present danger, by flying from Wales to the Duke of Brittany, who generously refused to deliver him up. But when Richard III. had ascended the throne, and cut off one branch of the royal family after another, the heart of the young Tudor was inspired with lofty hopes. A conspiracy was formed in England in his favour, he himself prepared an armament, and his landing was to give the signal for a general rising; but the whole scheme was defeated by incidental circumstances. He could now no longer remain in Brittany, and therefore took refuge with Charles VIII., king of France; but Richard never after lost sight of his dreaded adversary. The daily increasing hatred of this tyrant, made Henry of Richmond formidable, for though he had a superior claim, as a member of the house

of Lancaster, yet John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, Margaret's grandfather, was only a natural son of the founder of the line. It is true he was legitimated; but the act of legitimation expressly excluded him and his descendants from the succession to the throne.

In order to strengthen the weak side of his Lancastrian claims by an alliance with the house of York, Henry resolved to marry Richard's eldest niece Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV. This plan Richard was determined to frustrate. He had previously taken measures to secure himself from all rivals in this quarter, by inducing the parliament to declare his brother's marriage invalid and his children illegitimate; and still further to consolidate his throne, he had murdered his brother's sons. He immediately resolved to take the Princess Elizabeth under his own charge. It is generally supposed that he intended to espouse her to his only son Edward, but on the death of that prince, he declared his determination to marry her himself. Richard was rapid in all his proceedings; his queen, Anne, suddenly fell sick; and, before her death appeared inevitable, he had prevailed on Elizabeth's mother, the Queen Dowager, to sanction the unnatural alliance. Bucke mentions a letter to the Duke of Norfolk, in which Elizabeth calls the king her joy, her all in this world, and adds her only fear is, that after all the queen may yet recover; but this letter appears to be spurious. Anne died in a few weeks, and the battle of Bosworth shortly afterwards put an end to all Richard's plans.

1485. The victorious Henry thought proper to cut short all inquiries into the source of his right to the crown; and

after his coronation boldly declared to the parliament that he ascended the throne "by virtue of his just hereditary right, and by the manifest judgment of God, who had given him the victory in battle." Thus he evaded the detested right of conquest; and the more securely to strengthen himself, he induced the parliament to petition him to marry Elizabeth of York. Pope Innocent VIII. granted the dispensation requisite on account of their consanguinity, and anticipated every supposition of Henry's right to the throne being founded on this marriage. He declared that the king was the lawful heir to the crown, and that in case his marriage with Elizabeth should prove childless, his descendants by a future marriage should succeed him; adding, that whoever opposed this decree should be excommunicated. This was exactly what the king desired, and though he suffered the English to rejoice at the happy union of the two Roses, he was careful not to recognise his right to the throne by virtue of his wife, since such a recognition would have made him her subject. Nay, he even treated the queen and her house with affected coldness, while he persevered in representing himself as a true member of the house of Lancaster; and the appearance pertinaciously maintained, gradually produced an effect little inferior to truth itself.

While Henry, instead of uniting the contending interests, was thus compelled himself to embrace a party, he reaped indeed the advantages of being a Lancastrian, but exposed himself to danger from not being a member of the house of York. Of this house Edward, the youthful nephew of the two last kings, Edward IV. and Richard III., was still alive.

He was the son of the unfortunate George Duke of Clarence, who fell a sacrifice to his brother's hatred. His uncle Edward gave the boy the title of Earl of Warwick, after the family of his mother. When Richard III. lost his only son, he was long doubtful whether he should raise young Warwick to the rank of his successor, or put him in prison. His suspicions decided for the latter. Henry VII. commenced his reign by removing this young prince, now fifteen years old, from his former prison, to yet closer confinement in the Tower. Nevertheless a pretender, calling himself Warwick, but whose real name was Simnel, appeared in Ireland. He was the son of a mechanic, and had been instigated to this bold attempt by a priest. The king immediately released young Warwick from the Tower, and frequently appeared with him in public. He defeated Simnel, who had adopted the title of King Edward, and degraded him to the situation of scullion in the royal kitchen; but as he conducted himself well, Henry subsequently raised him to the post of falconer. The release of young Warwick from the Tower was merely a prudential measure of the king, in order the more easily to put down Simnel, for he soon after sent the young prince back to prison. The king now found it expedient to intimate, that if the right of the younger line to the throne could be brought forward before the elder was extinct, his consort, as heiress of Edward IV., had the precedence of every member of the house of York. Henry was fully aware that Elizabeth was universally considered the legal heiress to the throne; yet he had kept her studiously concealed from the public, and she had remained uncrowned, though she had already

given birth to a son, Prince Arthur. Some historians have even asserted that her mother, Elizabeth Woodville, the Queen Dowager, was imprisoned for a long time; but great obscurity envelopes this part of the history; and the question has been raised, whether she was in league with Margaret of York, widow of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, and designed to assist in dethroning the man who withheld the crown from her daughter. Now, however, the coronation of the queen took place, and her mother again appeared at court.

After the lapse of five years another aspirant to the throne appeared in Ireland. This was Perkin Warbeck, who pretended to be Richard, second son of Edward IV. He stated that he had been providentially preserved in the Tower when his brother Edward V. was murdered, and had escaped after a long imprisonment. According to the ancient laws of England, Elizabeth's hereditary claim to the crown would be invalidated if she had a brother still living; and as there were at this time differences between France and England, Charles VIII. recognised this *pseudo* brother, and invited him to his court. 1487 to 1492.

Henry, fully sensible of the danger of his situation at home, had done his utmost to remain at peace with all foreign powers: even when the Duchy of Brittany was in imminent danger, and an appeal was made to him, which a generous heart could not have resisted, he held back. Louis XI., the annihilator of the crown fiefs, had most reluctantly suffered that of Brittany to exist; and Charles now resolved to complete the work of his father, and annex Brittany to his crown. In this exigency the aged duke re-

minded the King of England of the secure retreat which he had so long afforded him, with great danger to himself. Henry gave fair words, but made no exertions in the matter; and Duke Francis, under increasing difficulties, sacrificed a part, in order to save the rest. He died soon after; when his daughter Anne, who succeeded him, again invoked the assistance of England. The parliament, blinded by splendid reminiscences, was eager for war: and Henry, though opposed to the measure, assumed the appearance of coinciding with them, and obtained grants of tenths and fifteenths. The affair was terminated in the meantime by the young King of France having persuaded, or rather compelled, Anne to become his wife. Maximilian, Emperor of Germany, was greatly incensed at this, and declared war against Charles, who by this alliance had deprived him of his affianced bride and of Brittany, and had at the same time broken his contract of marriage with Maximilian's daughter. That Henry should appear in the field at this time caused considerable surprise; his purpose, however, was merely to conclude peace, by which he not only acquired a large sum of money, equal to three times his annual revenue, but also obtained the removal of the Pretender from the French territory, an object of which he was extremely solicitous.

1493, Nov. 3.

The king, who had already amassed great wealth, by means of the confiscated property of certain conspirators and their partisans, was considerably enriched by this treaty of peace. He also succeeded in bribing some adherents of the Pretender, and thereby elicited confessions, which deprived many distinguished persons of their lives and property. At the

head of these was Sir William Stanley, brother of Lord Stanley, who had married the king's mother, and to whom Henry was indebted, as to a second father, for the care of his youth, and subsequently to both of them, for his throne and his life on the field of Bosworth. But as Stanley was one of the richest subjects of the realm, and the crown would be enriched by his death with an income of 3000*l.* in landed property, and 40,000 marks in ready money, the king sentenced him to die the death of a traitor.

History must pronounce the king unfeeling, but it cannot designate him sanguinary. That which the occasion required he did, neither more nor less, and at times he had recourse to lenient and conciliatory measures. It was an admirable statute, worthy of the most benevolent heart, which, with the approbation of both houses, enacted, that henceforth it should not be imputed to any one as a crime, that he had faithfully served the king de facto, whoever he might be. By wise moderation Henry also gained over the Irish, and allowed some of the great men, who had been convicted of high treason, to remain unpunished: an act of clemency for which the nation was grateful to him. Henry thought that he had no longer any thing to fear from the young pretender Richard IV.; for the Flemings, among whom Warbeck had taken up his abode, refused to continue to harbour him, because Henry had broken off all intercourse with them, and removed the market for English cloths from Antwerp to Calais. Warbeck was, however, immediately protected by Scotland, where all was confusion. James III. had recently been murdered; and his successor, James IV., in-

1496. stigated by his father's assassins, promised to assist Warbeck. He ventured an incursion into England, and offered a large reward to any one who should capture or dethrone "Henry Tydder," as he designated the King of England. France secretly fanned the flame, and a rise subsequently took place in Cornwall. But when it came to a point Scotland withdrew, concluded peace, and abandoned Warbeck. On the eve of the important day that was to decide his fate, Warbeck lost all his vaunted courage, and fled from
1497. the face of his enemies at Taunton, but afterwards yielded himself prisoner. Henry had promised to spare his life, and he kept his word; even an attempt to escape from prison was pardoned; but Warbeck was compelled to read publicly the confession of his low birth at Tournay. Whether Henry had a hidden purpose in sparing the life of his prisoner remains to be seen. Perkin Warbeck was conveyed to the Tower, and confined in the cell occupied by the unhappy Warwick. The fellow-sufferers soon became friends, and speedily formed a plan of escape, which was as speedily discovered. The tribunal of Westminster sentenced Warbeck to death: the Earl of Warwick was placed at the bar of the upper house, and confessed that it had been his intention to summon the vassals of his house to the defence of the man whom he believed to be Richard IV. He had passed half his life within the walls of a prison, and fifteen years' confinement had reduced him to a state of perfect imbecility. "He was unable," says a contemporary, "to distinguish a goose from a capon, and yet he was accused of high treason." The lords
1499. declared him guilty, and Edward Plantagenet perished on the scaffold.

This was the last conspiracy which disquieted the reign of Henry. He gave his daughter Margaret in marriage to James IV., an alliance which, in the sequel, led to the union of England and Scotland. James, however, maintained friendship with Charles VIII., and persevered in refusing to recognise the title retained by his father-in-law of "King of France." 1502.

About the same time, the king married his eldest son Arthur, to Katharine of Arragon, daughter of Ferdinand the Catholic; but the prince, who was only fifteen years of age, dying soon after, it was proposed that Henry, the king's second son, should espouse this princess. But the royal fathers disagreed for years about the portion, and the negotiations were not concluded, when the king of England died on the 22d of April, 1509, in the fifty-second year of his age. 2d April. 1509, April 22.

His propensity to amass money increased to a fearful extent in the latter years of his life, and led to acts of great oppression. Many a rich man was suddenly imprisoned, and accused of crimes of which he was ignorant; and, in order to obtain his liberty, was compelled to sacrifice a portion of his wealth, the possession of which was, in fact, his only crime. Henry invariably laid the blame upon his officers, especially Empson and Dudley, the agents of his rapacity; and in his last will inserted a few words expressive of repentance. He was, however, the first sovereign since William the Conqueror who was able to meet present demands without anticipating the crown revenues; in addition to which he left in his coffers a treasure amounting to 1,800,000*l*. This was a vast sum to be in the hands of one individual, at a time when it is calculated that there were only about

6,000,000*l.* sterling in circulation throughout the whole of England; at a time, too, when Ferdinand the Catholic, to whom Columbus had recently given a new world, died so poor, that there was a difficulty in providing the means for his suitable interment. His riches and economy enabled Henry to dispense with the necessity of assembling a parliament more than once, in the last twelve years of his reign. The statute of Edward III., enjoining annual parliaments, seemed to have become obsolete. The ordinary revenues of the crown, arising from lands and tolls, were generally adequate to meet the current expenses; but when an additional supply was required in 1504, it was asked of the parliament in a manner strictly conformable to the constitution. The king increased the power of the House of Commons by adding to the number of its members, and by granting to several towns corporate rights and a seat in the house. His relentless rigour was directed exclusively against the great men, and the extraordinary tribunal, subsequently so justly detested as the Star Chamber, which Henry had instituted by virtue of his supreme judicial authority, was felt by the people to be a blessing; it checked the arrogance of many a powerful nobleman, who, till then, could be reached by no sentence of a court of justice, because he was able to oppose its execution, not only by means of his own servants, but by the aid of a number of dependents and followers, who were distinguished by his badge and colours, and who were bound to support him on every emergency.

It was especially for the suppression of these maintenances, as they were termed, that the Star Chamber

was instituted, and empowered to pass that judgment which had hitherto rested with a jury of the House of Lords. Lord Bacon relates a characteristic anecdote of the king's determined resolution on this point. Henry was on a visit at the country seat of the Earl of Essex*, who had always been his most faithful adherent. At his departure the whole of the noble earl's numerous train of dependents was drawn up in honour of his illustrious guest. "This body of fine men," said the king, greeting them as he passed, "are all without doubt your menial servants." "Not so, with your grace's permission," replied the earl, smiling; "they are most of them my retainers, who are come to do me service at this time, when they know I am honoured with your majesty's presence." "By my faith, my lord, I thank you for your good cheer," replied the king, "but I must not allow my laws to be broken in my sight; my attorney must speak with you." The parliament had prohibited the use of colours by a special statute, and the earl had to pay a penalty of 10,000*l.* for his breach of the law. Proceedings of this nature were far from injuring Henry in the good opinion of the people; and James I. assures us, in one of his writings, that he was emphatically called "the king of the poor." They were specially grateful for a statute by which he secured to all indigent persons the gratuitous administration of justice; and they were further indebted to him for the manufacture of cheap coarse woollen cloths, which were introduced into York in his reign. Foreigners, who were contemporary with the contest of the Roses, express their surprise that the influence of the laws,

* Hume says, "the Earl of Oxford."—*Translator.*

to which the people of England had become accustomed in better times, should still bear fruit in those days of violence, and put limits to the horrors usually attendant on civil war. Thus Philip de Comines, who at that period composed his Memoirs, says, "Of all the countries of the world which I have seen, England is the land where the government is administered in the best manner, where the people suffer the least violence, and where the miseries of war fall only on the combatants." The most correct estimate of the character of Henry, in the whole of his proceedings, would, perhaps, be to designate him an improved counterpart of William the Conqueror; we see him, even on a military expedition against rebels, adopting the strictest measures to prevent the inevitable evils of war from being aggravated by his troops. He affixed the penalty of death to the commission of theft, robbery, and the carrying off provisions, without paying the full market price; and he committed to prison any soldiers who ventured to take up quarters different from those assigned to them. The public confidence in the stability of the existing state of things was proved by the long leases which the landholders sought and obtained, during this reign, by the more honourable position of the farmers, and especially by the improved condition of the vassal peasantry, whose number decreased during Henry's time, and who at the commencement of the sixteenth century had wholly disappeared from the English soil: they had become free leaseholders, and even, in some instances, possessors of freehold property. The wealth of the nobility had diminished, and hence they readily agreed to resign, for a stipulated indemnification, the

jurisdiction over their dependents, as well as many feudal rights. The population of the towns had increased; between 60,000 and 70,000 inhabitants were found in London and Westminster alone, and the total population of England amounted to about 3,000,000. An important testimony is given by Sir John Fortescue in his celebrated work, "De Laudibus Legum Angliæ," which he composed during his exile in France, for the instruction of the young prince Edward, son of the dethroned Henry VI. Fortescue, who, as an adherent of the house of Lancaster, had been obliged to quit the kingdom on a charge of high treason, regarded that house as the legitimate sovereigns; but legitimate and absolute were not synonymous in his estimation. He undertakes to shew that limited royal authority is more valuable than absolute, and that this limitation of the sovereign power exists in England, where the king can neither legislate nor impose taxes against the will of his subjects. That the prince may be thoroughly convinced of the advantages arising from this system, he advises him to compare the situation of England with that of France, where the system does not obtain, and *especially with the condition of the lower classes.* The English, he says, are better fed and clothed, and enjoy a larger share of the comforts of life. He considers at length, the mode of trial by jury, and ascribes the pre-eminence of England to her being governed by the common, and not by the civil law. To the enquiry of the prince, why other nations did not adopt the trial by jury, Fortescue replied, because they do not possess a sufficient number of respectable landowners qualified to serve as jurymen.

HENRY VIII.

1509—1547.

During the long reign of the second Tudor, the face of the political and social condition of the world underwent a striking change. It was an eventful era in the page of history. Henry VIII. was contemporary with Maximilian and Charles V., with Soliman the Magnificent, and the Great Mogul Babur, who by the subjection of Hindostan prepared the way for the future supremacy of England. But all is outweighed by the fact that Luther was his contemporary.

The houses of York and Lancaster were incontestibly united in the person of Henry VIII., for the Yorkists could not but recognise him as the lawful heir to the throne in the right of his mother. Thus undisputed hereditary right, immense wealth, and the prospect of a long reign, hailed the young monarch on his accession. He was at that time only eighteen years of age, and though devoted to manly exercises and passionately fond of the chase, he regularly attended mass three times a day. As a younger son, Henry had been educated for a high office in the church, and spoke Latin, Spanish, and French with great fluency. The prospect of the permanency of the dynasty now rested solely on him, and a union with Katharine of Arragon was negotiated. Katharine affirmed that her marriage with Prince Arthur had never been consummated, and the papal dispensation

being granted, Henry was married to her in the first summer of his reign, to the universal satisfaction of his subjects. 1509. June 11.

By the advice of his grandmother, Margaret Plantagenet, the young king retained most of his father's counsellors; but Empson and Dudley were condemned to death, as a sacrifice to the indignation of the people, at the rapacity exercised during the last years of the preceding reign. It was enacted, that persons guilty of offences against the crown should not be liable to prosecution after the lapse of three years.

Youth and riches, when under no control, are not fond of tarrying at home. Henry felt himself strongly tempted to depart from the pertinacious reserve of his father with respect to foreign affairs. These, as far as we are concerned, are but of secondary consideration; but at that time Italy was the promised land of ambitious princes, though in the sequel it proved the jaws of the lion. Torrents of French blood had already deluged the land, and it was still suffering from the effects of the celebrated League of Cambray. The Pope, the Emperor, and the Kings of Spain and France combined to effect the ruin of Venice; but discord soon after broke out among them, because Louis XII. took the start of his allies, and gained advantages in Italy for himself. Louis refused to listen to any remonstrance; the Pope therefore immediately accepted the submission of Venice, founded another league, called after his holiness, the Holy League, induced Ferdinand to join it, and exerted himself to the utmost to gain over Henry VIII. The question was now agitated in the English council, 1511.

whether this might not be a favourable moment in which to renew the ancient claims to France, which had become almost an empty title. Many of the counsellors justly controverted this opinion, because, since the time that Louis XI. had broken the power of the vassals of the crown, the internal discord of France no longer afforded any encouragement. The use of fire-arms had besides made so great a change in the mode of carrying on war, that it was no longer possible to obtain vast results by a coup de main, with a few thousand men; and it was urged, that even if complete success attended them, were the English to conquer France in order that their future kings might reside at Paris? Henry nevertheless sent troops to his father-in-law, hoping that by means of their united forces he might conquer the province of Guienne, for the English crown. Ferdinand how-
1512. ever made use of them to seize on Navarre for himself, and when once in his own power, he took good care not to part with it. In the following summer the young king resolved to look after his troops in person; he appointed his queen regent of the kingdom, left the pleasures of his gay court, and proceeded with 25,000 men to France, where, in conjunction with his ally the emperor, he gained, near Terouanne, the Battle of the Spurs. On the other hand, his brother-in-law, the King of Scotland, assisted the French by an incursion into England, which, however, in consequence of the prompt measures of Katharine, proved unsuccessful, and King James himself fell in the battle. Henry's allies having concluded a separate peace with France, he followed their example, and subsequently gave his sister Mary

in marriage to the French king. But this alliance 1514.
was dissolved at the end of only three months by the death of Louis, and the young widow soon afterwards married of her own choice, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, from which union a claim to the crown arose in the sequel. The war had emptied many of the coffers of the late king, but the conclusion of peace promised to refill them; for France undertook to pay a million of crowns, in thirty-eight half-yearly instalments, of which however very few were received.

During this war Thomas Wolsey, the king's almoner, obtained the chief place in the privy council, where he found means to maintain himself for fifteen years. He rose to the dignity of archbishop of York, was elevated by Leo X. to the rank of cardinal, and afterwards to that of legate. He was of mean extraction; but at that time the church was the ladder by which persons of low birth, attained the highest offices in the state. Submissive to his king, Wolsey treated others with arrogance, and even with insolent defiance. He loved riches, not only as a means of acquiring power, but as a source of enjoyment; "he sinned in the flesh," says Shakspeare; he expended much in ostentation, not altogether for mere vanity's sake, but also in founding learned and ecclesiastical institutions. He was well versed in all the erudition of the age; and if he was indispensable to the king, as an ingenious inventor of court fêtes, he was no less skilful in filling up his leisure hours with eloquent and profound discussions on the king's favourite author, Thomas Aquinas. Though devoid of dignity of character, he might have restrained the king, whose warlike propensities, at

least, he did not share, from many errors; and this praise is often bestowed upon him, though he is not entitled to it. It is true the low vices of Henry VIII. did not openly manifest themselves till after Wolsey's fall; but Wolsey, against his own better conviction, led the king into the fatal path.

When any object of personal, unbridled ambition was in view, the cardinal's whole soul was exclusively devoted to it. If the renewal of plans of conquest at the expense of France was a mistaken notion of the king, what shall we say to the project of becoming emperor of Germany? This idea had been suggested by the Emperor Maximilian at the time he was anxious to gain the aid of the king against the French monarch, Francis I. If the advice was honestly meant, it was only one of the many political chimeras of that humane and amiable monarch, such, for instance, as the notion that he should like to ascend the papal chair. But now the old emperor was dead; and as his grandson, the King of Spain, wrote to his brother-in-law, Christian II., "The imperial crown would be given to the highest bidder," Henry resolved to make an offer. The cardinal, instead of dissuading, eagerly encouraged him, being excited by his master's promise, that in the event of his becoming emperor, he would pave the way for him to the triple mitre. The negotiation, however, failed, and the King of Spain, Henry's nephew, was elected emperor.

The cardinal was in some measure consoled for this disappointment, by the assiduity with which he was courted, and by the pensions which he received both from the new emperor and Francis I., who already

contemplated hostile proceedings against each other. The emperor at length succeeded in obtaining Henry's promise of support against France, in the war which had just broken out. But when a considerable English army was to be raised, to embark for France, it appeared that the treasury of the crown had been exhausted by reckless expenditure. This was the more unfortunate, because the Scotch, as usual, took up arms in favour of France. Negotiations with corporations and citizens to obtain taxes on property, and half forced loans, to which Wolsey had more than once had recourse, no longer availed. The only means now left was to summon a parliament, which had not met for eight years. The cardinal went with a great retinue to the lower house, and required it to raise 800,000*l.* for the war, by a property tax of 20 per cent. He fully hoped to obtain one of his usual triumphs, and to carry away the grant with him, relying chiefly on Sir Thomas More, one of the king's council, who had been chosen speaker to please the crown. To his utter astonishment, however, he found the assembly totally silent. In vain he called on one member after another by name. At last, losing all patience, he exclaimed, "Here is, without doubt, a surprising and most obstinate silence, unless indeed it be the manner of your house to express your mind by your speaker only." Sir Thomas More, humbly lamented on his bended knee, that the presence of so great a personage intimidated them; that however, according to their ancient privileges, they were not bound to return any answer, and that the speaker was not entitled to do so without being authorised. As the members continued silent, and the speaker entrenched

1522.

1523.

himself behind his duty, the cardinal left the house in great choler. Though the parties subsequently approximated with respect to the grant, the commons persisted in discussing the matter by themselves.

There is probably no foundation for the imputation cast on Wolsey, that he had undermined the alliance with the emperor in revenge for the repeated failures of his election to the papacy, which failures he ascribed to the emperor.

1525, Feb. 24. The intelligence of the battle of Pavia, in which the King of France was taken prisoner, and fell into the hands of Charles V., was received with enthusiasm in London. Henry sent an ambassador to the emperor, and proposed a joint invasion of France. The plan laid down was to meet at Paris, where Henry was to assume the French crown, as his lawful inheritance, while the emperor should take the Burgundian provinces, which France had so long withheld from him. The execution of this scheme, which in itself was infinitely difficult, would have deprived the emperor of the fruits of his victory, of the supremacy at which he aimed, and transferred them to his capricious uncle of England, hence his rejection of this proposition may be easily conceived. Meantime Henry took decisive steps to procure money for his great undertaking. Wolsey was averse from summoning a parliament, which on the former occasion had thrown so many difficulties in his way, and refused so large a part of what he demanded. It was therefore resolved to raise money by virtue of the royal authority; to take from the clergy one fourth, and from the laity one sixth of their incomes; but the clergy declared to the commissioners that this demand was contrary to the liberties

of England, and that the king could not deprive any subject of his property except in the manner authorised by the laws. They inculcated this doctrine from the pulpit, and took the lead of the people in resisting the demand. The king appeared willing to give way, publicly declaring that he did not require a stated sum, but that he relied on the good will of the people. Benevolences, *i. e.* applications to the good will in point of form, but in truth forced contributions, had, however, been abolished under the reign of Richard III., and this sole good effect of that reign now bore its fruits. The opposition of the people went so far, that in some counties they took up arms. The king was obliged to desist; and as the projected war was now impossible, he concluded peace with France, and made an alliance, by which he was to receive 2,000,000 crowns, payable in twenty years, in half-yearly instalments of 50,000 crowns, and if he should live longer, the same income to be continued for his life. The cardinal, of course, took care that his own interest should be amply provided for in a separate article. How, indeed, could his princely household, consisting of 800 persons, be maintained without extraordinary resources?

From this time the policy of England approximated more closely to that of France. The dissolution of the amicable relations between Henry and his Imperial nephew, was hastened by an event in the royal family, the result of which had a powerful influence on the history of England, and even on that of the world. Katharine of Arragon, the emperor's maternal aunt, was five years older than her consort king Henry; she had five children, two sons, who died

early, and three daughters, of whom only the Princess Mary, born on the 8th of February, 1515, survived. Mary had been betrothed when only six years of age to her cousin the emperor, who was fifteen years older than herself; but Charles was not disposed to wait till she was marriageable, and secretly engaged himself to Isabel of Portugal; and, as the parties had had differences on other points, the alliance was the more easily broken off. Henry had really loved Katharine, and when age and infirmities came on, he continued to esteem her, as indeed she justly deserved, but he at the same time indemnified himself by other attachments. Among his favourites was Mary Boleyn, younger daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn; but her eldest sister, the beautiful Anne, soon after captivated the king. Anne had been educated at the French court, and excelled all the English ladies in dancing and singing. On the marriage of Mary, Henry's sister, to Louis XII. she was appointed maid of honour to that princess, and afterwards to Claude, consort of Francis I. She was recalled by her father, in consequence of a union which he had arranged for her, and was appointed by Henry, maid of honour to his queen. To Henry's solicitations she replied: "Your wife I cannot be, both in respect of mine own unworthiness, and also because you have a queen already. Your mistress I will not be." This was the state of things at the time of the peace with France. The king concealed his passion, but began occasionally to express to his confidants, with apparent sorrow, his apprehension that he was living in an illicit union with his brother's widow; that the desolation of his house by the death of his sons was a consequent judgment

of Heaven; that he should fulfil, in his want of children, the threat of Moses (Lev. xx. 21.), and of John the Baptist to Herod (Mark vi. 18.). He consulted with the cardinal respecting a divorce. Wolsey remonstrated; but when he saw the king's obstinate determination, he offered him his assistance, and promised success. In the sequel, he sometimes denied, and at other times affirmed that he had advised the king to this step, according as it best suited his own interest. Wolsey's activity in promoting the divorce is proved by his letters, copies of which are in the possession of Sir Robert Peel, which are communicated by Sir James Mackintosh, in his "History of England." His aim was to strengthen the alliance with France by his sovereign's marriage with a French princess. The king's passion for Anne was probably not unknown to the cardinal; but he doubtless believed that it would end in the same manner as with her younger sister.

While this intrigue was secretly going on, there 1526.
was a formal negotiation for a further alliance of the reigning houses of France and England, by the marriage of Mary, Henry's only daughter, to Francis I. In the course of this negotiation, one of the French bishops expressed a doubt whether the princess was to be considered as having been born in wedlock. This was no unwelcome insinuation to Henry. His passion overleaped the abyss which opened to him on both sides. Should he stigmatize his only child, the next in succession to the throne, as illegitimate? Dare he offer an illegitimate daughter as consort to the King of France?

Henry sought for a divorce on the ground that

the papal dispensation for his union with Katharine was nugatory; because a marriage with a brother's widow was contrary to the Divine law, with which even the pope himself could not dispense. This he required his divines to prove, and he himself was engaged on a learned work to the same purpose. But the question, theologically considered, was altogether unfavourable to the king's wishes. If it were conceded that the Mosaic law was binding upon all the nations of the earth, this would only increase the difficulty; for if the eighteenth and twentieth chapters of the third book of Moses prohibit a marriage with a brother's widow, the twenty-fifth chapter of the fifth book commands this marriage, in case the brother has died without children. Now this was precisely the case with Prince Arthur, whose marriage, besides, had never been consummated.

This was a time, however, in which the most strange events seemed to be of every-day occurrence. Scarcely had men recovered from their astonishment at the captivity of the King of France, at his being carried prisoner to Spain, at the peace extorted from him, and at his shameful breach of faith immediately on being set at liberty, when the whole Christian world resounded with the intelligence that the Holy Father and the city of Rome had fallen into the hands of the Imperial soldiers. Though Pope Clement VII. speedily recovered his personal liberty, yet his dominions continued in the occupation of the Imperial troops, and his only hope rested on the allied Kings of France and England, who, he trusted, would strike an effectual blow at the emperor. In this extremity he yielded to the importunity of the

English ambassador, and empowered Wolsey, as his legate, to decide in the affair of the divorce; he stated that Henry might take another wife in the room of Katharine; nay, that it should not be an obstacle if she were already betrothed to another, or was related to the king in the first degree. This evidently alluded to Anne Boleyn; it was well known that she had been previously betrothed to Lord Percy, and that her sister had been the king's mistress. Thus the king was placed in the singular position of receiving the dispensation of the pope, in a case in which he affirmed, that the pope had no power; for the brother is not more nearly related to the brother than the sister to the sister. End of 1527.

Henry, in gratitude to the pope, immediately declared war against the emperor, but this step excited the universal indignation of the English. Ancient hatred of France, and the losses occasioned by the interruption of the trade with the Imperial Netherlands, combined to arouse their anger. At the same time a rumour of the contemplated divorce was whispered abroad. An insurrection was apprehended. Dissatisfaction prevailed even among the higher classes, and all the king's counsellors, with the exception of Wolsey, declared against the French alliance. Wolsey himself was internally vexed since he knew that the king sought a divorce for the sake of Anne Boleyn, by which his plan of a marriage with the French princess fell to the ground; but this was not all: he feared that he might be ruined by the new queen; and he was well aware of the number of his enemies. Henry, too, was only half satisfied. He had indeed the pope's consent in his hands, but Clement had

conjured him to delay for a time, because he would be in danger of his life, if the emperor should become acquainted with the disgrace that threatened his aunt; besides this, the king no longer trusted his favourite as he had hitherto done, since the latter had again made an attempt to alienate him from Anne.

Under these circumstances the chief cause of the discontent of the people was done away with by an armistice, which was to be limited to the Netherlands, while the war with Spain continued.

Wolsey foresaw that he would be a lost man if the divorce should not take place, as the anger of the king would naturally fall upon him. In this state of anxiety and embarrassment he resolved to forward, as slowly as possible, an object, the attainment of which he dreaded, though with all the outward appearance of zeal. In this he agreed with the pope, and the views of both were furthered, by a dangerous pestilence, known by the name of the English Sweat-
1528. ing Sickness, which broke out about this time. Henry was seriously alarmed, suffered what he called his "secret matter" entirely to rest, joined the queen in her devotions, and confessed every day. When however the sickness abated, and Anne, who had been in imminent danger, had happily overcome the illness at Hever Castle, her father's country seat, again appeared at court, every thing resumed its former course.

The king must have conceded to the pope, that nothing should be made known respecting his former assurances. Cardinal Campeggio was to bring a bull in due form, and to decide with Wolsey, respecting the divorce. Campeggio really brought the bull with him, and read it to the king and the cardinal, but would

not part with it, nor could he be induced even to communicate it to the privy council. The two legates now opened a court, before which the king and his council appeared. Katharine protested against the judges, because they possessed benefices in England, and consequently were not impartial: she therefore appealed to the pope. Campeggio now insisted that sentence could not be passed, till the documents of the proceedings were laid before his Holiness. Soon after Clement withdrew the full powers which he had given to the legates. When Campeggio took leave of the king his majesty treated him, apparently, very graciously; but on his arrival at Dover, several armed men forced their way into his apartment, and searched his baggage, under the pretext that there were effects among it belonging to Wolsey. This was doubtless a last desperate attempt to get possession of the bull. It is, however, no easy matter to overreach a cardinal; — the bull had been long before despatched to Rome by a confidential person, and is preserved to this day in the library of the Vatican.

Wolsey was now ruined; however sincere might have been the anxiety which he manifested in his urgent entreaties to Campeggio to accelerate the business, its total failure condemned him. Anne, who had flattered the cardinal so long as she hoped that he would bring about the divorce, now easily obtained his dismissal from office; and from that moment Wolsey's spirit was broken. He survived his fall, the ruin of his property, and the disgrace of repeated accusations, but little more than a year. On his death-bed he said, "Had I but served God as diligently as I have served the king, he would not have given me over in my grey

1530. hairs." He died on the 29th of November, 1530. Christ Church College, Oxford, which he founded, has survived him, but that at Ipswich, his native town, expired with him.

Meantime Henry's situation with respect to his cherished wish became more and more unpromising. The pope and the emperor were reconciled, and resided together four months at Bologna, and Henry received admonitions to retain his queen. The mass of conflicting opinions which he procured at great expense from the universities of Italy, France, and Germany, did not advance his cause, though several of them were favourable. The king now conceived violent projects, which at first found vent in unbounded threats against the pope and the papacy. The instrument to give them force, and carry them into effect, was not long wanting.

The German reformation had at that time attained its complete development: the abstract of its doctrines was submitted to the emperor, and a military alliance of German princes, called "the League of Smalcalden," were ready to live and die in their defence. Many of the propositions of Martin Luther, reminded the English of John Wicliffe, who, in the fourteenth century, preached and wrote against the pope, the hierarchy, and transubstantiation, and who, like Luther, founded his doctrines on the Holy Scriptures. These were at that time but little known in the English language; Wicliffe therefore undertook a new translation, which however he could only publish in manuscript. His doctrine was condemned by the pope, as well as by an English synod; but when, at the instigation of the clergy, the upper house passed a resolution against him and his adherents,

the lower house, jealous of its rights, protested against its being considered as a resolution of the parliament, because the commons had not been consulted; and Wicliffe accordingly was suffered to remain unmolested at his parsonage of Lutterworth, where he died in 1384. The whole course of Henry's early education had made him averse to all innovations in the dogmas of the church. When Martin Luther, in his work on the Babylonish captivity of the church, went so far as to attack the seven sacraments, which even Wicliffe had respected, the king entered the lists against him, and wrote a defence, entitled "Assertio Septem Sacramentorum adversus Martinum Lutherum, edita ab invictissimo Angliæ et Franciæ rege et domino Hiberniæ, Henrico eius nominis: octavo. Lond. 1521." The work was reprinted three times during the king's life, and was so highly approved by Pope Leo X. that he conferred on Henry the title of Defensor Fidei, which was confirmed by Clement VII. In the following year Luther answered with "Contra Henricum Regem Martinus Lutherus," in language so very abusive of the king, that a censor of the press in our day would be frightened to death at the mere sight of it. The form of this reply was blamed even by persons who sincerely admired Luther; and he was induced, in 1525, by Christian II. King of Denmark, to write in apologetic terms to Henry, in which he assumed that the work had been falsely ascribed to the King of England; this however the royal author openly rejected with contempt, and Luther's writings were publicly burnt in England.

Henry, notwithstanding the violence of his passions, by no means intended to embrace the doctrines of the reformer, whom he hated. At first he thought only of

holding out threats; and a favourable declaration of Rome in the affair of the divorce, might have induced him to desist from his purpose; but as he proceeded it was all at once evident to him, that he needed only to become the pope of his own country—in order, in the first place to give a dispensation to himself, and then to fill his treasury—to restore the succession to the throne—to acquire a degree of power over the parliament hitherto unknown—and to invest the royal dignity with new splendour, in the estimation of all Europe. Thus he seized with a rude hand, an object, which, in Germany, was cherished in the inmost recesses of the heart; and intent only on external success, he obtained an increase of the royal power, to which the boldest hopes of his father had never aspired, and which all the sovereigns of the house of Tudor turned to their advantage.

The man who opened the king's eyes, and put an end to this wavering between the pope and his mistress was Sir Thomas Cromwell. He was a person of low birth, had been initiated by the cardinal, into public business, and the fidelity with which he served his fallen master, inspired those who were now at the helm with confidence, and he obtained an appointment at court. He soon sought a private audience of the king, in which he represented to him, that, without danger to his orthodoxy, he might so far imitate the German princes who had embraced Luther's doctrines, as to declare himself the head of the Church of England, instead of the pope; this being done, the divorce would depend on the king himself, and the crown would be invested with a uniform power, which it did not now possess. This advice flattered both the

king's attachment to Anne and his inclination to arbitrary sway. Cromwell was immediately sworn in as a member of the Privy Council.

England had long opposed an ardent spirit of independence to the two powers which claimed the government of the world,—the two swords, as they were called, the emperor and the pope. When Sigismund came to visit Henry V. in 1416, and his fleet cast anchor off Dover, the Duke of Gloucester, the king's brother, and a number of noblemen with drawn swords, rode into the sea to the emperor's ship, and inquired whether he meant to claim, or to exercise any kind of authority or jurisdiction in England? On his replying in the negative, but not before, he was received with great honours. The endeavours of England to become, in some measure, independent of the pope, had a prior origin, and may even be traced back to the thirteenth century. Under the feeble reign of Henry III., when the House of Commons first arose, the pope proceeded further than he had ever done before, in the exercise of the right of making what were called, provisions for holding abbeys, priories, &c., by his own authority. The country was filled with foreign clergy, especially Italians; and the evil of this system was encreased when they had their representatives in England, and spent the revenues of their benefices abroad. The pope, having given away a living, the presentation to which belonged to a noble family, a union was immediately formed among the nobility, and acts of violence were committed against the papal authorities. In the sequel the pope declared that he disapproved of what had been done in his name; and that those benefices, which appertained to laymen,

should be left to the disposal of their own patrons. The English clergy, however, were equally averse to the induction of foreigners; and the crown felt itself aggrieved, because the pope not only nominated the bishops, but assumed to himself the right of granting temporalities. When the intrepid Edward came to the throne, the statutes against the provisors were enacted, which were called Præmunire, because the penal clauses in them began with the words "Præmunire faciat." Thenceforward the officers, whom the pope maintained for these purposes, and for the collection of his revenues in England, such as procurators, executors, notaries, &c., were strictly watched. Even on their landing at Dover, they were met with prohibitions and protests, were often thrown into prison, and, if in the end, the papal influence was so far regarded, that the penalties which they had incurred were remitted, and provisions granted, the statutes, however, remained in force; and, even in Wicliffe's time, the severest punishment was denounced against any clergyman, who, in opposition to the rights of the crown, should suffer himself to be invested with a living by the pope.

By the advice of Cromwell, the king commenced his attack on this side. The whole body of the clergy was suddenly accused of having incurred the penalty of the statute of Præmunire. In their alarm, they offered 100,000*l.* for a full pardon, which the king refused, till the clergy agreed to insert in the preamble to their grant, a clause, acknowledging the king, as the sole protector and supreme head of the church and clergy of England. It was with great difficulty that the clergy, after a long negotiation,

succeeded in having the words "as far as the law of Christ allows" (quantum per Christi legem licet) added to the clause, under which, indeed, many reservations might be covered.

Thus, for the sake of a beautiful woman, a barrier of the temporal power was broken down, within which it had been confined for ages, and Henry was not slow in gathering the fruits of his newly-acquired authority. Katharine was removed from court; the pope admonished the king to take back his lawful wife and to appear before him; but Henry summoned the parliament, and obtained the abolition of the first-fruits, which, till then, had been sent to Rome; and further deprived the clergy of the right of issuing any directions, in matters relative to the church, without the royal approbation first had and obtained. The divorce was now proceeded with, after the unhappy queen had been deprived of her last resource, an appeal to the pope, by a resolution of the parliament, which prohibited any such appeal on the penalty of præmunire. As Katharine did not appear when cited, the Ecclesiastical Court pronounced against her as contumax, and declared her marriage with the king invalid, because it had been contracted contrary to the Divine law. The president of the Ecclesiastical 1533.
Court was Cranmer, the new Archbishop of Canterbury, who had gained the king's good-will, and obtained this high post, by a work which he had composed in favour of the divorce, and by his diligence in promoting it at Rome, as well as in collecting the opinions of many universities. Cranmer was originally not intended for the church, and did not enter into holy orders, till after the death of his wife; never-

theless, during his residence in Germany, he had married a second time, the niece of Osiander the reformer. This step shows that Cranmer's views of reform went much farther than those of the king, who, to the last, tenaciously upheld the celibacy of the clergy. On this account Cranmer's wife remained in Germany, and the king either knew nothing of it, or considered the connection as concubinage.

To this day the church of England has not recovered from the stigma which inevitably attaches to any change in the church, which proceeds from external motives, and not from internal conviction. The king had submitted to the proceedings of the Ecclesiastical Court, merely out of complaisance to the archbishop. Since he had dissolved all connection with the pope he considered himself as a sovereign who, he said, "recognised no superior on earth, but only God, and was not subject to the laws of any earthly creature." In this point of view, he had power to conclude his marriage with Anne, and so in fact he did, before the Ecclesias-
1533. tical Court had dissolved his marriage with Katharine; for, according to his judgment, he had never lived in wedlock with her. He declared, therefore, that "he had examined the matter before the tribunal of his own conscience, which was enlightened and directed by the Holy Spirit, who possesseth and directeth the hearts of princes." There was, probably, a secret marriage in the first instance. In the eighth month, whether after the public notification, or after the conclusion of the marriage, Anne, who had already been crowned
Sept. 7. queen, gave birth to a princess, who, in the opinion of the Roman Catholics, had been conceived before marriage, and was in no case legitimate, because Anne

was to be considered as only the king's mistress: this princess was Elizabeth.

Thus the king was father of two daughters, one of whom he had himself declared to be illegitimate, while the other was considered as such, by the great majority of the English. Nothing, therefore, was more uncertain than the succession to the throne.

The king appealed, from the threats of the pope, to a general council, and obtained from the parliament, a formal confirmation of every thing that he had hitherto done in the affairs of the church. The power of the pope in England, was now formally abolished, and not only were all officers and the clergy, but even monks and nuns, compelled to swear that the king was their spiritual head, that the pope had no more authority in England than any other foreign bishop, and that the king's marriage with Queen Anne alone was legal, and the sole foundation of the succession to the throne. An amazing revolution overthrew all preceding convictions. Cromwell was heard to inculcate on every occasion the duty of unlimited obedience to the king. Sir Thomas More, a man universally esteemed, and of strict integrity, Wolsey's successor in the dignity of chancellor, (which contrary to custom had been conferred on him, though a layman,) would gladly have seen a reformation in the church proceeding from herself. As an enlightened statesman he was averse from the arrogant pretensions of Rome, but he opposed arbitrary power and resigned his high office. From that time his enemies never suffered him to enjoy repose; not satisfied with his recognising the new succession to the throne, they required him to take an oath, that the marriage with

Katharine was invalid from the first. He preferred being sent to the Tower, and after a year's imprisonment, he died on the scaffold, by a sentence of the very tribunal over which he had presided. Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, at a very advanced age suffered in the same manner, for expressing his conviction, that the new oath of supremacy was contrary to the doctrines of the church.

Cromwell, with the title of vicar-general, was appointed to administer all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, in the king's name. He had already caused the first-fruits and tithes to flow into the king's coffers. Henry was well pleased to proceed rapidly in this
1536. course, and of the 500 monasteries in England 380 were abolished at one blow. The remaining monasteries were dissolved in four succeeding years; and though much was squandered, the annual revenue of the crown was very considerably augmented, as the largest portion of the booty fell to the king's share.

Jan. 8. The broken-hearted, repudiated Katharine died about this time, and Anne now first felt at ease as queen consort. She was again likely to become a mother, when she accidentally saw her maid of honour, the beautiful Jane Seymour, seated on the king's knee. Overcome with feelings of jealousy and indignation she was taken ill, and prematurely gave birth to a
Jan. 29. still-born prince. Two months after she was arrested and sent to the Tower, on the charge of having had an illicit intercourse with five gentlemen, among whom was her own brother, Lord Rochfort, and on the extorted confession of one of these, they were all sentenced to death. Anne was tried by a committee of six and twenty peers, and likewise found guilty.

She ascended the scaffold with asseverations of her innocence, and there is in fact no proof against her. The boundless tyranny with which Henry subjected every will to his own, appears in his having induced Archbishop Cranmer, two days before the execution of the queen, to draw up a document which declares his marriage with Anne to have been null and void from the very first, on account of an obstacle which Anne was said to have confessed to him, the archbishop, shortly before her death, but which has never been disclosed to the world. Thus Elizabeth also was declared illegitimate by her father, and consequently unqualified to succeed him on the throne. Henry had wept at the intelligence of Katharine's death, but on the morning after the execution of Anne Boleyn, he married Lady Jane Seymour. He hoped to have an heir by his new queen, but meantime induced the parliament to authorise him to nominate his successor, in case he should have no children by his present or a future queen.

May 19.

1536. May.

Nor was it long before the future queen was called for. Jane presented the king with the long wished for prince, afterwards Edward VI., and died in less than a fortnight. Henry immediately resolved on taking a fourth wife, and accordingly made proposals to Anne, sister to the Duke of Cleves, whose portrait by Holbein he had seen, and who he had been informed, was of that noble stature which he esteemed requisite for the dignity of his consort. His dismay was accordingly great when on riding in disguise to meet her, to nourish his love, as he said, he found that she was indeed tall, but devoid of any peculiar grace of person. Thoroughly chagrined, Henry

1537. 24th Oct.

immediately consulted with his confidant Cromwell, exclaiming, "Must I put my neck into this noose?" Matters had however advanced too far, to permit him to draw back, and he reluctantly suffered the marriage to be solemnised. The new queen was acquainted with neither English nor French, and could speak only her own language; neither was she skilled in vocal or instrumental music, and her whole education seems to have been confined to reading, writing, and needle-work. The king was in despair, he vowed that he could not love the great Flanders' mare, and that he would be revenged on Cromwell for having suggested the marriage. The vicar-general had for some time ceased to enjoy the same degree of favour as formerly, henceforward he was hated. Yet Henry continued to load him with wealth and honours, to render the ignominy of his downfall the more signal. Cromwell had once broached the doctrine, that persons guilty of high treason might be justly condemned on the mere strength of the accusation, without trial. Henry now turned this to his own account, and Cromwell was doomed to drink the cup which he had filled for others. The king appeared highly incensed on discovering among Cromwell's papers, evident proofs of a secret correspondence with German Protestant princes, the object of which was to propagate the Reformation in England, on the same footing as in Germany. This accusation was brought forward the very day on which he took his seat in the upper house as Earl of Essex. The result was, his speedy execution and the king's divorce from Anne of Cleves.

1540. January.

1540.

Henry chose for his fifth wife an English lady, Catherine Howard; she, however, was beheaded in less

than two years, because it was proved that she had been unchaste before marriage. A statute was at the same time passed, that any woman, demanded in marriage by the king or any of his successors should be guilty of misprision of treason, if she concealed the fact of former frailty. Catherine Parr, the sixth queen, was a widow, and could therefore not fall under the penalties of this statute: yet she was at one time in considerable danger, because she had read some prohibited books, and began to doubt the infallibility of the pope of England, for such in fact Henry was. Articles of accusation were actually drawn up, when she adroitly warded off the blow by saying that she had entered into a religious discussion with the king, because in the warmth of argument he seemed to forget his bodily pain. "Ah!" cried Henry, "is it so, sweetheart? then we are friends again."

1542. Feb. 13.

1543. July 10.

However characteristic the events of these later marriages may be, our attention is always recalled to the first, which separated England from the see of Rome. Pope Paul IV. had for years threatened to issue a bull, which he had in fact signed, but not published. By this bull he summoned the king to appear at Rome to answer for all his transgressions against the holy see; and in case of his non-appearance within ninety days, declares him to be excommunicated and his crown forfeited: the pope at the same time lays the kingdom under an interdict, and not only absolves Henry's subjects from their allegiance, but even commands them to take up arms against their sovereign. At the close of 1538 the pope actually discharged the arrow from the bow

1535.

1538.

which had been bent for three years, but it fell harmless to the ground. It is true that the pope had received a promise from the emperor and the king of France, that, immediately on the publication of the bull, they would despatch ambassadors to England to renounce their friendship with the king, on account of his defection from the church, and break off all commerce with his subjects. When, however, the moment for action arrived, Charles V. and Francis I. prohibited the publication of the bull in their dominions, and made a merit of it to the king. From this line of conduct Henry was led to entertain the hope, that Francis might be induced to follow his example, and at least nominate a patriarch in France; but when this plan failed, and Francis besides interfered in the affairs of Scotland, the emperor for this time gained the advantage. Charles intimated to Henry, that the cause of their former misunderstanding had been removed by the death of his aunt Katharine, and he now hoped that her daughter might again find a place in her father's affections. Henry accordingly agreed to restore Mary's title to the succession, and the parliament passed the bill, without entering into any discussion on the question of her birth. On these conditions the sovereigns were re-
1543. conciled, and even joined in declaring war against France. Henry landed at Calais the following year with 30,000 English troops: here he was joined by 50,000 Imperialists; but while Charles was advancing with the main body of his army towards Paris, Henry laid siege to Boulogne, which capitulated at the end of two months. Upon this the emperor concluded a separate treaty at Crespi, the result of

which was the cessation of all hostilities between Austria and France. A treaty of peace was signed on the 17th of July, 1546, by one article of which England was to retain possession of Boulogne for eight years.

This war, which had been so rashly and injudiciously conducted, greatly impoverished the resources of the king. The immense, extraordinary revenues arising from the sale of church property were at length exhausted; but their failure only served to call forth the vastness of Henry's despotic power. As far back as the twenty-sixth year of his reign it was calculated that he had received more rates than all his predecessors together; now, one demand rapidly succeeded another, and all were granted: all royal debts to subjects were dishonestly cancelled, the benevolences renewed, and the coin debased to one third of its former value.*

Before the separation from Rome the number of bishops and abbots in the house of peers exceeded that of the lords temporal; the reverse was now the case. The abbots vanished on the dissolution of their monasteries; but the bishops continued to sit in parliament, though they were in general poorly endowed: their independence also was gone, because they were no longer supported by the protecting hand of the pope. The convocation, in which the inferior clergy formed the lower house, assembled as before, but it had ceased to exercise any legislative power; every thing was decided by the king alone. Even the temporal peers were no longer what they had been before the

* On this occasion we learn that the value of gold to silver was twelve to one.

war of the Roses. In that war, the most powerful and wealthy families were ruined, and the majority of the present peers were indebted for their possessions and dignity to the Tudors. Now, as the crown also exercised a preponderant influence on the elections of the members of the lower house, especially in the counties, and the Speaker generally held an office under the crown, the lower house likewise lost its independence. If the king allowed the commons, what he called, a becoming liberty of speech, he alone decided what was becoming, and what was not; and when they said any thing which was not agreeable to him, he threatened, and called them knaves. Not only had Cromwell been inexhaustible in maintaining the doctrine of passive obedience, calling the king (nay, even *this* king,) God's image, and disobedience to him, disobedience to God; but even a man like Cranmer, who was influenced by the fear of God, when not overawed by the fear of man, was not ashamed to oppose to the conscience of the noble Sir Thomas More the declared will of the king; for when More acknowledged in his examination that his conscience forbade him to take the oath of supremacy, though he would not blame those who did, Cranmer replied, "You say you will not blame any one that takes the oath; it is evident, therefore, that you are not convinced that it is wrong to take it: but you must be convinced that it is your duty to obey the king; therefore if you refuse the oath, you prefer what is uncertain to your conscience." To this Sir Thomas replied, "Truly your logic would help me out of all difficulties; for if a portion of the doctors should disagree, we need only petition for a royal command, in favour of one opinion

or the other, to set all to rights." It appears, indeed, that the enervating effect of this doctrine of passive obedience was the more infectious, because it had the charm of novelty. At the opening of every session of parliament the king was treated with fulsome adulation: he heard himself called a Solomon in wisdom, a Samson in strength, and an Absalom in personal beauty. This unparalleled sycophancy suggested the plan to quench the flame of English freedom in its own sanctuary. Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, whose character subsequently appears in another point of view, was summoned to court. He gives a singular account of this interview in one of his letters:—"Lord Cromwell had once persuaded the king that his good will and pleasure ought to be considered as law, and I was summoned on this account to Hampton Court: and as his lordship was very sharp, he said, 'Come here, my lord of Winchester, answer the king; but speak honestly and plainly, and be not afraid, man. Is not that which the king pleases a law? Have you not read in the Roman law, *quod principi placuit legis habet vigorem?*' I stood motionless, wondering within myself to what this was to lead. The king, observing that I was reflecting, said with good-natured earnestness, 'Answer him, whether it is so or not.' I was unwilling to reply to Lord Cromwell, but addressed the king, and I said, 'I had read of kings whose will had always passed for law; but that it was more safe and satisfactory to follow the custom of his kingdom, and conform his will to the law; and on this form of government,' I added, 'your authority is founded, and it is adapted to the nature of your people. If

you adopt a new system, nobody can tell what will be the result.' The king turned aside, and dropped the conversation." Cromwell however did not relin-
1539. quish his plan; and a short time before his fall the parliament humbly submitted to make a declaration, that royal proclamations, issued by the advice of the privy council, should have the same force as an act of parliament. This was a virtual suicide of the house of commons; to such a degree were all dazzled by the union in Henry's crown of the spiritual and temporal powers. Matters could never have come to this extremity, but for the bitter hatred which subsisted in parliament, between the secret Roman catholics and the secret Lutherans. Each party vied with the other, to purchase, at any sacrifice, toler-ation and favour from the king. Thus every question turned upon the king's supremacy. With arbitrary inconsistency, he suppressed an insurrection in the northern provinces in favour of the late forms of church government, and put to death many adversaries of the new supremacy; but in respect of the dogmas of the church, he pertinaciously adhered to the old order of things; for his celebrated Six Articles of 1530, composed under the influence of Bishop Gardiner, maintained transubstantiation, denied the cup to the laity, enjoined the celibacy of the clergy, retained masses for the dead, and auricular confession. Though he at first permitted the laity to read the Bible, he soon withheld it from the people, and restricted the read-
1543. ing of the Scriptures to persons of rank. It is sufficient to add, that the king expressly reserved to himself, the power of making any change in his

ecclesiastical regulations, which he might think fit. When the king commanded all married priests to be deprived of their benefices, Archbishop Cranmer was alarmed, and hastily sent back to Germany, his wife and children, who had never appeared with him in public during their stay in England.

During the last years of his life Henry gave himself up to the pleasures of the table; and he now became so unwieldly, that he was obliged to be moved from room to room by the help of machinery, and was no longer able to sign his name. The blind caprice of his long life was manifested in his last will; in case his children Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth should die without issue, he passes over the descendants of his eldest sister the Queen of Scotland in favour of those of his younger sister the Queen of France, afterwards Duchess of Suffolk. The death of the tyrant, saved the life of the Duke of Norfolk, who was to have been executed the very day of his decease, the 28th of January, 1547.

EDWARD VI.

1547—1553.

HENRY VIII. suffered the usual fate of all despots. Honoured with the most cringing servility while they live, their authority is treated with contempt as soon as death has closed their eyes. Henry had nominated by his testament, a council of government, consisting of sixteen members, who were to hold the office of governors of the young king and of the realm, till his son should have completed his eighteenth year. To these were added a privy council, consisting of twelve members, whose functions were limited to the right of giving their opinion when required. One of the council of sixteen, was Edward Earl of Hertford, uncle of the young king. He soon gained over the majority of his colleagues, and having constituted himself first president of the council, and then protector, he united the two councils, thus leaving them only the function of giving their opinion, whilst all the power of the crown was lodged in his hands. Hertford assumed the title of Duke of Somerset, alleging that the late king had intended to confer this dignity on him.

The parliament readily sanctioned all these proceedings, in the hope that the Protector would abolish many abuses in temporal affairs; and the majority, at least, expected that something would be done to promote the cause of the Reformation; nor were they disappointed. Many despotic statutes of the preceding

reign were revoked, in particular the one which gave to royal proclamations the force of law.

Archbishop Cranmer placed himself at the head of the reformed party. The unscriptural prohibition against the reading of the Bible was withdrawn; the images were removed from the churches; the Lord's supper was dispensed in both kinds, and a new liturgy and catechism were drawn up in the vernacular tongue. Henry's six articles were annulled, and forty-two articles of religion substituted in their place. These innovations met with little opposition in the lower house: they were adopted by a majority of thirty-one to eleven in the house of peers, and only three temporal lords voted against them. In 1549 the celibacy of the clergy was abolished by a majority of thirty-nine to twelve in the House of Lords, four of the minority being laymen.

These changes were advancing rapidly, when the Protector was suddenly threatened with danger from a quarter whence he had least reason to expect it. He had enriched his brother Thomas Seymour, had raised him to the peerage, and conferred on him the office of lord admiral of England; but Seymour aimed at higher things. The dowager Queen Catherine, who had long been favourably disposed towards him, had been married to him with unbecoming haste, soon after Henry's funeral. Though she brought her husband a large accession of wealth, and the splendours of a royal dowager, yet, as she proved an obstacle to his grasping ambition, he impatiently desired her death, which took place in childbed, in the first year of her marriage. He was allured by the hope of obtaining the hand of the Princess Elizabeth, then in

her fourteenth year; for the young princess, who was left quite to herself, inconsiderately allowed him greater familiarity of intercourse than was strictly proper. Seymour, also, succeeded in gaining an influence over the young king, and he was on the point of inducing him to complain to parliament of the Protector, in order that the care of the king's person might be entrusted to him. The Protector discovered the plot, and pardoned his offending brother; but when Seymour formed new intrigues, and was accused of having base money coined, by bribing a master of the mint, for the purpose of raising an army, and at the head of 10,000 men to carry off the king, and change the form of government, he was arrested, and, with the want of form then prevalent in affairs of high treason, he was tried, condemned, and executed, without being confronted with his accusers.

But the Protector did not obtain, by his brother's execution, the undisturbed tranquillity which he had expected. He had, unadvisedly, engaged in a war with Scotland, which threatened to lead to hostilities with France; and the disposition of the lower classes in England gave reason to apprehend impending danger. The public discontent arose from three various causes — sudden scarcity and great financial embarrassments and difficulties; secondly, the want of employment, more especially in the agricultural districts, where much arable land had been converted into pasturage; and, thirdly, the introduction of the new liturgy.

Latimer, a preacher of singularly impressive eloquence, was at that time in London. He had been appointed Bishop of Worcester in the preceding reign,

but as he totally dissented from the six articles, he resigned his bishopric, and was subsequently sent to the Tower at the instigation of Gardiner. He was now summoned to court, where he delighted the young king with his striking, and often burlesque eloquence. In his public preaching, he boldly advocated the cause of the poor, and declaimed against the rise in the price of provisions. This rise was probably occasioned only in part, by the increased supply of precious metals from the New World: without doubt, it was mainly caused by the depreciated coinage struck by Henry VIII., which chiefly depressed the rate of daily wages. The rents of farms had been doubled and trebled, while daily wages had declined, rather than risen, because fewer labourers were requisite than formerly. At this juncture the new liturgy was introduced, and the public discontent, which had long been smouldering, burst out into a formal insurrection in several counties. The Reformation had been enforced with too much precipitation, considering that eleven twelfths of the nation were attached to the Roman Catholic religion. The pressure of the moment led to the appointment of lords lieutenant of the counties, an institution which has continued to the present times. Their office was to levy troops, and head them against the insurgents. Fearful scenes took place in several parts of the kingdom, and the suppression of this formidable insurrection was at last effected by the Earl of Warwick. This nobleman became henceforward a dangerous rival to the Protector, and found the less difficulty in compassing his ambitious designs, as France took advantage of the domestic fermentation in England to declare war.

This new embarrassment was laid to the charge of Somerset: he had contemplated for his king and for England the fairest prospect, by negotiating a marriage for Edward with Mary Stuart, the young Queen of Scots; but the aversion of the Scotch, and the inconsiderate haste with which the Protector urged the matter, had a precisely contrary effect to what he contemplated:—a war broke out with Scotland, and the young queen was married to the Dauphin. Francis I., who had had a presentiment that he should die in the same year as Henry VIII., and actually expired only two months after the death of that monarch, was succeeded by his son Henry II., who obtained for the Dauphin, Francis, the hand of the beautiful young Scotch princess, with a kingdom for her dowry. These repeated failures caused the fall of Somerset, who barely escaped with his life; but not long after, on attempting to recover his former power, he was attainted and beheaded. His rival, the Earl of Warwick, succeeded him, and concluded peace with Scotland and France, by which Boulogne was restored to that kingdom.

1550, March.

The Earl of Warwick was created Duke of Northumberland, and governed the kingdom without a rival. His only source of uneasiness arose from apprehension respecting the stability of his power. The health of the young king had been suddenly impaired by measles and small-pox, and his lungs were seriously affected. What fate would await Northumberland, the zealous friend of the Reformation, if Mary became queen; she, who had threefold wrongs to avenge—the sufferings of her mother, of herself, and of her co-religionists! But a plan occurred to him by which he

hoped to avert the storm. The acts of parliament by which Mary and Elizabeth were excluded from the throne, had not been repealed, for on the restitution of Mary's title to the crown, in 1543, the subject of her birth had been studiously avoided. Now, if the statutes of exclusion were allowed their full weight, this reinstatement of the princesses by their father's will could not avail against those statutes, for power was indeed given to the deceased king to nominate his immediate heir, but by no means to determine the future order of the succession. On the other hand, it was remarkable that so much stress was laid on the circumstance, that in this very will the line of Henry's younger sister Mary, was preferred to that of the elder, and on this preference Northumberland founded all his plans. Mary, when Duchess of Suffolk, had given birth to two daughters, the eldest of whom, Frances, married Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorset, who was subsequently raised to the rank of Duke of Suffolk. The Lady Jane Grey, their eldest daughter, was fixed upon by Northumberland for the wife of his fourth son, Lord Guildford Dudley, with the view of her becoming the future queen. Why might not Edward follow the example of his father? He was in fact prevailed upon to do so. He altered the succession to the throne, which Henry VIII. had established by his will, and declared the daughter-in-law of Northumberland heiress to the crown of England. The young king died soon after, of consumption, at the age of fifteen, before he could summon a parliament to confirm his choice of a successor.

1553. June, July.

No Roman Catholic suffered death in the reign

of Edward, but penalties were inflicted on many, and even the Princess Mary was deprived of her confessor. Edward manifested a tender affection towards Elizabeth, and yet consented that she should be passed over in the succession to the crown.

MARY.

1553—1558.

As soon as Northumberland perceived that the death of the excellent young king was inevitable, he resolved to get the Princess Mary into his power, and accordingly sent her a royal command, to hasten with all despatch to court. Mary reluctantly left Hunsdon, in Hertfordshire, and was within half a day's journey of London, when she received a secret intimation of the real state of affairs. She at once changed her route, and retired to Framlingham Castle, in Suffolk. Edward's death, which had taken place in the mean while, was concealed by the duke for three days; but scarcely four and twenty hours had elapsed before the intelligence reached Mary. On the 10th of July the king's demise was publicly announced, and the Lady Jane Grey proclaimed queen. On the first offer of the crown she had refused it with tears, but afterwards reluctantly yielded to her high destination, Mary instantly wrote to the members of the privy council, reproving them for not giving her information of her brother's death, and demanding to be proclaimed queen. The council, under the influence of Northumberland, exhorted her to submit to her lawful sovereign, but it was soon evident that Mary was not so helpless as had been imagined. The Earls of Bath and Sussex immediately summoned the people to take up arms in her favour, and many responded to the call. It was a

moment of intense anxiety, not only for England, but also for Europe. A storm was impending which involved not only a struggle for the crown, but also for the church. The emperor learnt with astonishment the firmness of his cousin, who when a child had been betrothed to him, and highly approved of her resolute conduct; but France declared in favour of the Lady Jane Grey. Northumberland, at the head of the forces which he had long since collected in the vicinity of the capital, marched out against the gentry who had taken up arms for Mary; but his despondency, as he rode through the city, was very evident, for he left powerful enemies behind, especially in the privy council. "The people crowd around to gaze at us," he said, "but none cries 'God speed!'" On the way he learnt that the enemy numbered 30,000 men, and that a reward had been set upon his head. It would not have been the first time that 10,000 disciplined troops had defeated thrice the number of men hastily levied, but as the duke advanced his courage failed him: he retreated; his colours were deserted, and Mary was proclaimed queen by the privy council. The beautiful and accomplished Lady Jane Grey, who had reluctantly been forced into this deed of unprincipled ambition, was thrust from the throne after an unquiet reign of ten days. On the 30th of July Mary and Elizabeth made their solemn entry into London on horseback. The personal appearance of the two princesses, who were alienated, rather than united, by the ties of blood, formed a striking contrast. Mary, now in her thirty-eighth year, possessed none of the dignity of her royal parents; she was bowed down by early sufferings,

her countenance was pale and emaciated, and her piercing black eyes inspired fear rather than admiration. Elizabeth, at her side, had not yet attained her twentieth year; she was tall and well made, and pleasing rather than beautiful; her complexion fine though rather sallow; "her eyes, but above all, her hands," writes the Venetian ambassador, "which she takes care not to conceal, are of superior beauty."

Northumberland and several of his partizans suffered death for their ambitious enterprise. Even the youthful Lady Jane Grey and her husband were committed to the Tower and condemned; but the execution of this sentence seemed too cruel to be put into immediate force. On the other hand, Bishop Gardiner was released from the Tower, where he had been long confined on account of his attachment to the Romish church; he was made a member of the council, and soon after appointed chancellor. The faithful adherents of Mary were rewarded; among whom was the Earl of Sussex, who obtained the strange privilege of wearing his bonnet, coif, or night-cap, or, if he pleased, any two of them, in the royal presence. The bad coinage was called in, and better issued in its stead.

The queen soon left off her mourning attire, and made no secret of her intention to marry. Several noblemen were proposed by the council; and the emperor solicited an alliance for his son Don Philip, stating that had his own age permitted, he would himself have sought the honour of her hand. This alliance was objected to by many, even of the Roman Catholic party, including Gardiner, who, with all his religious zeal, had the welfare of England really at heart; but the dismay of the Protestants was great

when they learnt that the queen, notwithstanding, had resolved to bestow her hand on this prince, who was, moreover, eleven years younger than herself.

A different direction was immediately given to the affairs of the church. At the beginning tolerable forbearance was shown, and both parties were allowed liberty of conscience; but Elizabeth thought it advisable to attend mass with her sister. When, however, Archbishop Cranmer took courage boldly to declare against the mass, he was committed to the Tower. Mary entertained a special hatred of this prelate, whom she regarded as the author of her mother's divorce. As he had servilely conformed to all the dogmatic caprices of Henry VIII., the assertion of his conscientious conviction on this occasion afforded him no protection.

The feeling of the people was by no means unanimous; many had assented to the reformed doctrines without examination; others without internal conviction; others against their will, in obedience to the king's mandate; while only a remnant had embraced them from conscientious principles, and were resolved not to renounce them at any cost. On the other hand, the abolition of the papal jurisdiction by Henry VIII. thirty years before, was in accordance with the cherished inclination of the English nation for an independent government; and secondly, the restitution of the church lands was obnoxious to all, for a large portion was in the possession of private individuals, and had already passed through several hands. The queen's counsellors were fully aware how far they might venture, and from what they must refrain, in consequence of this feeling. The lower house, in particular,

was hostile to the pope, and Mary carefully concealed the correspondence into which she had entered with Rome.

The first act of the new parliament was to declare the validity of the marriage of Henry VIII. and Katharine of Arragon; it consented to the withholding the sacramental cup from the laity, and to the celibacy of the clergy.

An insurrection broke out early in the next year, in which the Duke of Suffolk took a prominent part. Lady Jane Grey and her youthful husband, though perfectly innocent of this conspiracy, suffered the execution of their cruel sentence. The emperor had before urgently advised this measure for Mary's personal security. The Lady Jane died with great firmness and unshaken attachment to the Protestant faith. She took an affectionate leave of her sister, in a letter written in the Greek language, probably that it might not be understood by strangers. In her journal she wrote, a few moments previous to her execution, "If my fault deserved punishment, my youth and inexperience might at least excuse me. God and posterity will do me justice." This wish has been amply fulfilled, for posterity has ever manifested a predilection in her favour. Elizabeth being suspected of a secret participation in the late troubles, was arrested and sent to the Tower. She expected the same fate as her mother; but subsequently, on the marriage of Mary her life was spared, at the intercession of Philip, and she was restored to liberty, though indeed under surveillance. 1554, Feb.

Count Egmont was sent to London as ambassador by the Infant Don Philip to negotiate his marriage with the queen. The parliament gave its consent,

but on condition that he should not claim a right to exercise any act of government, even in the event of Mary's death. Philip made his entry into London as King of Naples and Duke of Milan, to which dignity the emperor had raised him by the cession of his own right, that he might not be inferior in rank to a queen regnant. The nuptials were celebrated on the
July 24. 24th of July, 1554.

Soon after her marriage Mary ventured to take the decisive step, and solemnly re-united the church to the papal see, on an address from the two houses of parliament. This measure was highly disapproved of by many; but as the queen, with the assent of the pope, had expressly promised that the church lands should remain with their present possessors (a matter in which the property of thousands was involved), it passed the lords without opposition. The lower house consisted at that time of about 320 or 330 members: only two dissentient voices were raised against it, and these were soon silenced. The act of parliament stated that they reflected with sorrow and repentance on "their defection from the true church." In a solemn sitting of the two houses, Cardinal Pole, the pope's legate, gave the parliament and the kingdom absolution, freed them from all censures, and received them again into the bosom of the church. This ceremony was concluded with the
Nov. performance of the Te Deum in the royal chapel.

Towards the close of the year, Mary entertained hopes of becoming a mother, and the parliament on being informed of the circumstance, nominated Philip in the event of her death, to take on him the government of the kingdom, till the child, if a princess,

should have completed her fifteenth year: or, if a prince, his eighteenth year.* This arrangement was not directly opposed to the former resolution, since the government was not to be carried on in Philip's name.

The year 1555 began with the blazing of the funeral piles destined for the victims of frantic religious persecution. The noble firmness of many evidenced that they were influenced by higher objects than the emoluments of the church. Gardiner was president of the court for trying heretics, which consisted of thirteen bishops and a number of lords and knights. His conduct was brutal and inhuman; he stigmatised as a crime, deserving death, the prayers against the pope, which he had himself used during the time of the tyrant Henry. But history must do him the justice to acknowledge that he soon grew weary of presiding in that dreadful tribunal. Of the fourteen bishops then in office in England, only five tolerated such atrocities in their respective dioceses; and Gardiner's diocese was not one of these five. He was succeeded by the ferocious Bonner, Bishop of London. The intrepid Latimer was banished, several deposed bishops were otherwise punished, while Archbishop Cranmer atoned at the stake for his many weaknesses, arising from ambition and his questionable expedients in promoting the supposed honour of God. His unmanly vacillation scarcely entitles him to rank among the re- 1555.

* Hume and other historians say, "The parliament passed a law which, in case of the queen's demise, appointed him protector during the minority; and the king and queen, finding they could obtain no further concessions, came unexpectedly to Westminster and dissolved them." — *Note of Translator.*

formers of England, for it was not till all hope of pardon was gone, that his better self prevailed; he then boldly declared his real sentiments, and when brought to the pile, dauntlessly thrust into the flames, the hand with which he had signed six several recantations. He was succeeded in the see of Canterbury by Cardinal Reginald Pole, of the house of Plantagenet. Pole had firmly resisted all the enticements which Henry held out to him, in order to induce him to recognise his supremacy; he preferred quitting his native land, and his noble spirit could not be broken by the revenge, worthy of a Nero, which Henry took, by executing the cardinal's relations, and even his aged mother. Pole suffered the burning of heretics to proceed, but did not approve them. In the space of two years, 290 persons suffered martyrdom; most of them were of the lower classes of society, and among them many women and above forty children.

The queen continued long to cherish unfounded hopes; she mistook a dropsy, with which she was afflicted, for pregnancy, and when at last painfully awakened to her real state, she reluctantly parted from her husband. Philip hastened to attend the summons of his father, who, satiated with worldly honours and riches, which he had so largely enjoyed,
1555. placed the hereditary crowns upon his son's head. During Philip's absence, Mary, impelled by conscientious scruples, restored the portion of the church property which was in the possession of the crown, and re-established some monasteries.

1557. Philip, who was now the most powerful monarch of Christendom, master of Spain, the Two Sicilies, the Netherlands, and the New World, visited England

once more in order to persuade his consort to take part with him in the war against France, and he succeeded in his object. The pretext for the declaration of war was, that France had supported the rebels in England. The English gained the victory at St. Quentin, but in the course of the war Calais, the last remaining fruit of so many heroic deeds, was captured by the French, after a siege of eight days. This loss might, perhaps, be considered rather an advantage to England, for it put an end to many injudicious schemes of conquest. Yet Mary's grief at this disgraceful loss is the only noble trait in her reign; she never recovered the shock, and on her death-bed she said, "If you open my breast, you will find Calais written on my heart." She died on the 17th of November, 1558, and on the following day her relative, Cardinal Reginald Pole, also expired, and with him the brightest ornament of the Romish church.

1558, Nov. 17.

ELIZABETH.

1558—1603.

On the death of Mary not the slightest opposition was offered to the recognition of Elizabeth as lawful heir of the crown. She who had been so long suffered to languish in neglect, in a condition bordering on captivity, was suddenly elevated to the throne of a powerful kingdom, at the age of twenty-five. It was in obedience to the will of God, as she asserted, that she took upon her this burden, which, in fact, had long been the desire of her heart. Elizabeth was indebted to Protestantism for her title to the throne. If there could have been any uncertainty in the minds of her subjects respecting the course which she would take in regard to the most important questions of the age, all doubt was dispelled by her appointing Sir Nicholas Bacon to the office of chancellor and lord keeper, and Cecil to that of secretary of state; both of whom were men of acknowledged Protestant principles.

Elizabeth, however, was not long without a rival, and it was perhaps no more than might have been anticipated, that Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots and Dauphiness of France, should assume the title and arms of Queen of England and Ireland. For if the late queen was the legitimate daughter of Henry VIII., then Elizabeth must be regarded by the Roman Catholic cabinets as illegitimate; and Mary Queen of Scotland, by virtue of her descent from the eldest sister of Henry VIII., was entitled by hereditary right to the crown, which Elizabeth had usurped. Such a claim, which could not under any circum-

stances be passed over in silence, assumed a more hostile form, because France and Scotland were at war with England. Pope Paul IV. too, who was now in his eighty-first year, only acted in virtue of his office, when he publicly announced, that it was for him alone to decide, which of the two queens was entitled to the disputed crown.

Elizabeth on her part acted with great prudence: she endeavoured above all things to regain the ground on which alone her right could be established; she at once dissolved the courts for the trial of heretics, released all persons confined for their religious opinions and permitted the reading of the Bible. Sir William Cecil, afterwards Lord Burleigh, who had been secretary of state under Edward VI., was the only person who enjoyed her entire confidence. "Patience is prudence," was his motto. By his advice, Elizabeth paused for a time, and postponed her intended reforms till the meeting of parliament. But the suspicions of the prelates had been awakened. Of twenty-six episcopal sees, eleven were at that time vacant, and the fifteen bishops who were upon the bench refused to perform the coronation service: one of the prelates was, after great difficulty, gained over, and the coronation was solemnised. A few days after parliament met, and the sentiments expressed by a large majority of both houses were as devoted to the crown as could have been desired. However, in order to strengthen her authority, the queen created several Protestant peers, and revived the ancient abuse of writing to the counties to influence the elections; the sheriffs often nominated themselves as members of the lower house, but in general chose the persons pointed out by the government, without reference to the rights

1559, Jan. 14.

of the electors. The queen's hereditary claim to the throne was thus recognised without discussion, and in spite of the remonstrances and protests of the bishops, seconded by the convocation and the university of Oxford; the spiritual authority of the crown was re-established on the same footing as in the reign of Henry VIII., and this, not by a bare denial of the pope's authority, but positively, as the queen's right of unlimited power over the constitution and dogmas of the church. The oath of supremacy was restored in its full extent. Elizabeth was so far from giving up the smallest portion of the absolute power of her father, that she ventured to affirm that this was only a restoration of the rights which had always belonged to the crown. The wise moderation, however, with which she used her power makes her conduct appear to more advantage, in comparison with that of her despotic father. She would not permit the liturgy of Edward VI. to be used in the churches, till some needlessly harsh expressions against the papists, and several dogmatic subtilties, which had caused dissension in Protestant Germany, had been expunged. She left the convocation of the clergy, and even the parliament, full liberty to judge of heretics, reserving to herself the decision of punishing those prelates who refused to take the oath of supremacy, by merely depriving them of their dignities: she committed none of them to prison but Bishop Bonner. The question of the celibacy of the clergy she determined at once, by elevating to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury, a worthy divine who had been chaplain to her mother, and was a married man. She was perhaps more inclined in favour of celibacy; but her decision could

not be delayed, because the hereditary right of the children of the married clergy depended on it.

With respect to her own marriage, she haughtily rejected the wishes of the lower house. It was highly agreeable to the commons that she had declined the hand of King Philip, who made her an offer immediately after the death of Mary, and that, by her steps in favour of the Protestant religion, she had, even rendered such an alliance impossible; they now however, urgently and humbly entreated her, through a deputation headed by the speaker, to be pleased to secure the succession to the throne by marriage. Elizabeth not only decidedly refused the application of the house, but let fall some expressions which were offensive to the rights of the commons, saying, "that it was for them to ask, not to prescribe; to obey, and not take upon themselves to bind her; that if she married, it would be for the sake of her people; for her own part, she desired no fairer inscription on her tombstone, than that she had lived and died a maiden queen."

On the 2d of April, 1559, the queen concluded a peace with France at Chateau Cambresis. The nation was grieved that Calais remained in the hands of the French, though the treaty spoke only of a cession for eight years. The state of affairs naturally extended the negotiations to Scotland; and when Mary Stuart, by the sudden death of her father-in-law, became the consort of the King of France, the necessity of an amicable arrangement appeared more urgent. Mary held her court in France, while her mother, a French princess, sister of the Guises, was Regent of Scotland. Thus the house of Lorraine ruled in both kingdoms; 1559. July 10.

for Francis II. did nothing without the concurrence of the Duke of Guise and of his brother the Cardinal of Lorraine. In this state a total change of affairs was brought about by another unexpected death.

1560, May 5. Francis, who had always been weak and sickly, died in consequence of an ulcer in his ear; and his young widow, then only eighteen years of age, refused to ratify a treaty, which would deprive her of the title

1561. of Queen of England and Ireland. Mary returned to Scotland, but her heart remained in France.

The great movement in the church had not failed to extend to Scotland, but it found there a soil very different from that of England, and was developed in a very different manner. In England it was a profligate prince that raised the standard of religious controversy; men of the most energetic character—More, Fisher, and Pole — took part with the church of Rome, and defended religious liberty against temporal tyranny; while the views of the Reformation were embraced by men of comparatively submissive and timid minds. In Scotland the case was far otherwise.

The soil in that country was much less prepared by learned culture than in England, and the state of society was far less advanced. The population, like the country, was divided into two dissimilar parts, who differed even in their language. To the north of the Grampians the Highlands formed almost as many states as there were tribes or clans. It was considered a privilege to belong entirely to the head of the clan; the members of the clan were called by his name, and all wore his colours in their kilt; their fiefs were generally held from him; he was their

leader in battle, their judge, and the guide of their political and religious opinions. The population was everywhere engaged in hunting, rearing cattle, and the manufacture of arms; they delighted in war, and despised labour, and paid little attention to agriculture, as they were constantly changing their settlement, living now here, now there, in the territory of the clan. To the south of the Grampian mountains are the Lowlands, called by the Highlanders, the Foreign Country. This part of the kingdom had, from the most ancient times, been more connected with England, and had frequently been dependent on it; but the nobility were rude, and fond of warlike adventures; the people poor, without industry and trade; the clergy in the highest degree ignorant, intolerant, and immoral. Three universities had been founded in the fifteenth century, at St. Andrew's, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, chiefly for the study of theology; but it is certain that Greek was not taught till 1534. It is very remarkable that the art of criticism, which had never before been introduced into Scotland, quickly took root there. The Scotch were always considered hot-headed, keen disputants; few therefore who embraced the new doctrines were more firmly attached to them. So early as the year 1528 a young nobleman, of the name of Hamilton, fell a victim to the vengeance of the clergy, who caused him to be burnt. The priests knew no other weapons, and as they persevered in their degrading immorality, they were attacked with satires, and, in return, caused a heretic to be burned every year. It was on this account that the learned and ingenious Buchanan left his country, where the king himself (James V., to whose

son Murray he was tutor) could not protect him against the anger of the monks, whom he had exasperated by a satire; for royalty among the Scotch was powerless, and had no veto in the legislation. All that the king could effect, conformably to the constitution, was through his influence on the assembly of the lords of the articles, by whom every thing was discussed and prepared, previously to being laid before parliament. The parliament consisted of three estates—the prelates, nobles, and deputies of towns and boroughs; it generally formed a united assembly, and became more and more dependent on that leading committee, to which the nobles nominated eight spiritual, and the clergy eight temporal, members. The two privileged estates then united in choosing eight of the town deputies, and the king also nominated eight members. James V., from hatred to his rebel nobles, threw himself into the arms of the clergy, whose immoral lives he, however, disapproved of, and resisted all the exhortations of his maternal uncle Henry VIII. to follow his example in regard to ecclesiastical affairs. Mary Stuart was but a week old when her father died from chagrin at his disgraceful defeat by the English at Flodden Field, in 1542.

On the death of James, Henry VIII. applied for the regency during the minority of his sister's granddaughter. The Scotch answered, that it was quite impossible; that there was not a boy in Scotland who would not pelt him with stones; that the women would strike him with their distaffs; that the poor men would rather perish; and that the whole body of the clergy and all the nobility were opposed to such

a measure. Thus two parties contended for the government—the Roman Catholic, which was supported by France, and represented by the Queen Regent and Cardinal Bethune, generally called Beaton; and the Protestant, which was encouraged by England, with Earl Hamilton of Arran at its head. The latter obtained the regency, as the majority of the nobles was on his side. At that time a resolution was passed in the parliament, which permitted every one to read the Bible in the English translation; but the points in dispute were far from being settled. Arran suffered himself to be persuaded by the cardinal to abjure his heretical errors, and it was not long before Beaton caused another heretic to be burnt. This was Wishart, a man who was accustomed to travel about the country preaching the reformed doctrine, followed by innumerable multitudes of people. Scarcely had Wishart been brought to the stake, when several noblemen bound themselves by an oath to be avenged on the oppressor; they surprised the cardinal by night in his castle at St. Andrew's, murdered him in his bed, and suspended his 1556.
corpse from the open window. Beaton was an able politician, but addicted to every lustful passion.

At this crisis the man to whom Scotland is mainly indebted for the Protestant faith appeared on the public stage. John Knox, who was born of obscure parents in the county of East Lothian, was then about forty years of age. He had studied divinity at the university of St. Andrew's, with Buchanan and Hamilton the Martyr, under John Major, professor of theology, a man of liberal opinions. Here he formed a friendship with Wishart. On hearing of the death

of the cardinal, he said it was "a blessed deed," and used his utmost efforts to protect the murderers in the persecution to which they were exposed. He attended them as their spiritual guide, during the siege of St. Andrew's by the regent, who was assisted by the French. The garrison was obliged to capitulate, and Knox, with many others, was taken prisoner, conveyed to France, and sentenced to labour two years at the galleys in Rouen. He was then favourably disposed to the constitution of the Anglican church, as it had grown up under Henry VIII. and Edward VI., but his frequent residence at Geneva gave a totally different direction to his views. Here he became intimately connected with that extraordinary man John Calvin.

Calvin constituted the church, the university, and the government at Geneva according to his principles, to which he subjected all opposing doctrines by his extraordinary energy and profound erudition. Inexorable towards himself, he scrupled not to employ the stake and the axe of the executioner against doctrines which his creed stigmatised as heretical. Knox found in him the model suited to his own character. He returned to Scotland imbued with a Calvinistic contempt of all worldly pomps and pleasures, and with an utter abhorrence for the episcopal church of England, which he esteemed on a par with papal abominations. He demanded a republican form of constitution in the church, administered by elders. The queen regent had deprived the weak-minded Arran of the regency, and for a time flattered the Protestants. But the sister of the Guises could not
1558. long persevere in this course, and in 1558 she com-

manded that by the following Easter every body should attend mass. In the preceding year a formal union of the Scotch Protestants had been organised, which took the name of the Covenant, or Congregation of Christ, and designated its opponents as the Congregation of Satan. The members of this union had mutually engaged to hazard their lives and properties for the cause of the Gospel. The heads of the Congregation now appealed to Knox, and had recourse to arms. In the concerns of religion, in which, above all, the purest motives should prevail, the blind passions of men unhappily often lead them to consider every means as sanctified by the end. The queen-regent gave the Protestant nobles a formal promise to suspend the judicial proceedings against their preachers, if they would lay down their arms and disband their troops. But no sooner had they done so, than she suffered the tribunals of justice to proceed. Knox, upon this, recommended, from the pulpit, the adoption of measures of violence. A priest who was about to read mass was driven from the church at Perth, in which the altars and images were broken down and the relics destroyed. The rage for destruction once kindled, did not spare even the churches, which were regarded by these men, as monuments of the former idolatrous worship. The lofty cathedral of Scone, where Scotland's kings were crowned and interred, was reduced to a heap of ruins, and within a few years most of the other ecclesiastical buildings shared the same fate. Knox encouraged these illegal proceedings with his favourite expression—"The best way to drive away the owls is to set fire to their nests."

A religious war was thus kindled, and Knox was constantly with the army, not to combat but to comfort, encourage, and excite. It was not till he approved of it, that the deposition of the queen-regent was spoken of. But how was this accomplished? Partly by the aid of England. Elizabeth, it is true, would not hear of Knox's doctrines respecting church and state, or of the democracy of his presbyteries; and he was personally odious to her because, in his "First Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous Regiment of Women," he had not only called her sister Mary the English Jezebel, but represented female government in general as contrary to nature and revelation; yet Elizabeth overcame her feelings, and because France supported the queen-regent, she at length sent troops and money to the aid of the Congregation. This was mainly effected by Knox's constant importunity with Cecil. The queen-regent nevertheless, by the help of France, long maintained the superiority. The nobles eagerly followed the advice of Cecil, and supplied their want of funds by plundering the rich abbeys and churches. Many abbots and prelates embraced the Protestant religion, and converted their benefices into their own temporal possessions. No advantage accrued to the crown from these spoliations; the nobility alone were the gainers. The Protestant clergy were reduced to extreme indigence; nothing was done for the support of schools, and, though Knox zealously advocated the restitution of the property, his efforts on this point were unavailing. The nobility could not be prevailed upon to relinquish their ill-gotten booty.

1559. Autumn.

1560. On the death of the queen-regent a creed of the Scotch church was drawn up on the basis of Calvin-

istic principles, the constitution of the church regulated by a book of discipline, and religious instruction imparted according to Calvin's catechism. The clergy were chosen by the congregations; but as it was barely possible to provide an adequate number of pastors even for the more considerable towns, it was frequently found necessary to appoint readers, who, as they became gradually better informed, rose to the rank of exhorters. Elders were nominated to assist the clergy; but if the pastor did not abide by the pure doctrine, or was otherwise unsuitable, they had the power of proposing his deposition to the congregation. Deacons administered the revenues of the church, and collected alms. The kingdom was divided into ten dioceses, over which the preachers of the larger towns presided, with the title of superintendents. At first, this aristocratic element was borne with patience. The elders, who were always laymen, sat in the assembly with the clergy, either collectively or as a deputation. The general assembly, which included the whole kingdom, had the right of an ecclesiastical censorship, which extended even to excommunication. Previous to the re-admission of an excommunicated person, he was required to perform penance, which consisted in standing barefoot, covered with sackcloth, on an elevated place in the church, during the sermon. All these regulations received the sanction of the parliament of Scotland, and thus became generally binding.

Such was the state of things when Mary Stuart, as queen-dowager of France, and queen of Scots, returned to her native land, accompanied by her half-brother 1561, Aug. 19.

Murray. Knox required that the prohibition to attend mass should be immediately extended to the queen; but Murray and other noblemen opposed the proposition, and insisted that the queen should not be molested in the exercise of her religion, so long as she did not interfere with that of her subjects. Mary gave a satisfactory assurance to that effect; but Knox inveighed against this lukewarmness on the part of the people; and when mass was celebrated for the first time on the Sunday after her landing, the populace would have forced their way into the royal chapel, had not Murray stood at the door with his sword drawn. On this Mary sent for the indefatigable zealot, and reproached him with seducing the people to disobedience to their sovereign, and apostacy from their religion. "God has called me," said Knox, "to prove the nullity of the popish religion, and the deceit and tyranny of the Romish antichrist. In religion subjects owe obedience to God rather than to their princes, who are often unenlightened. Were that not the case, the Hebrews must have adopted the religion of Pharaoh, Daniel that of Nebuchadnezzar, and the early Christians that of the Roman emperors." "But," said the queen, "they did not lift the sword against their princes." "God," replied Knox, "had not given them the means to do so." "When subjects have this power," asked Mary, "do you think that they may resist their princes with arms in their hands?" He answered, "Undoubtedly, when princes go beyond the bounds of their authority. Do not children bind their father when, in a fit of madness, he attempts to kill them? And shall obedience be carried further towards princes, who would murder the children of God that are subject

to them? Their blind zeal is only madness. Therefore, to deprive them of the sword, to bind their hands, and to throw them into prison till they come to their senses, is not cruel disobedience to their authority, but true obedience, because it is agreeable to the will of God." Here the queen changed colour, and remained silent and motionless for nearly a quarter of an hour. Then, collecting herself, she said she would protect the Romish church, which she considered to be the true church of God. He replied, "Your will, queen, is no argument, and your opinion does not make the Babylonish whore, the immaculate bride of Christ." When Mary, quite overcome, objected that her conscience spoke otherwise, he exclaimed, "Conscience requires knowledge; but you have no more real knowledge than the Jews who crucified Christ."

The words of Knox pierced like a sword, and were re-echoed throughout all Scotland. When the queen, who had been flattered by the homage of France, where none could resist the fascination of her beauty, came to Edinburgh, she saw her religion derided at the very entertainments given in her honour. The town council terminated their demonstrations of respect, by a proclamation, in which they banished from their city adulterers, drunkards, obstinate papists, and all the wicked rabble of antichrist, the pope, such as priests, monks, nuns, &c., under the penalty of being whipped at a cart's tail and branded, if they did not depart within four-and-twenty hours. This was more than Mary could bear. She demanded and obtained the dismissal of the magistrates, and the revocation of the revolting ordinance.

Deeply moved as she was, Mary determined to follow up her victory, and caused high mass to be celebrated on All Saints' Day. Knox now preached, with still greater virulence, against the Scotch Jezebel, and against the nobles, who called themselves Protestants, while they nevertheless encouraged antichristian abominations.

The question relative to the property of the church was settled about this time; it was decided that two-thirds should remain in the hands of the nobility, and one-third be restored, partly to increase the revenue of the crown, and partly to support the clergy and schools. When this arrangement was effected, Knox was highly incensed, and exclaimed, "I see two-thirds of the church property delivered to the devil, and the other third divided between God and the devil."

1562. Meanwhile, the religious war was devastating France, and Elizabeth, at the solicitation of the Prince of Condé, sent money and troops to the support of the Protestants. It was evident that her crown must stand or fall with the reformed religion; and she knew the temper of her people well enough to be certain, that they would rejoice at the intelligence that the Prince had offered to give up the ports of Havre de Grace and Dieppe as military depôts, on condition that she should espouse the cause of the Huguenots. The case of the Queen of Scots was far different. She was sure of her hereditary right, whether the Scotch were Papists or Presbyterians, but all her youthful inclinations, and the closest ties of blood bound her to the attractive worship of her own church. The morose, austere men, who stripped the early foliage from the tree, and left only the bare

trunk of asceticism, were beyond measure odious to her, even had they not irritated her natural impatience by their daily invectives against her and her court. Under these circumstances the Roman Catholics took courage, and, though it was positively prohibited, they ventured to celebrate mass several times. Knox now called upon his followers to set to work and seize the idolaters. He preached with increased acrimony against the queen, and though she conjured him, even with tears, to admonish her in private, and not to vilify her in the kirk before the people, — it availed nothing, and he declared from the pulpit that he obeyed the queen as Paul did Nero.

During these stormy scenes in Scotland, Elizabeth led a cheerful life, and her vanity was gratified by the application of royal and princely suitors, without distinction of religious creed. Many of these alliances held out flattering prospects, and even the prudent Cecil himself was favourable to them. But as soon as the moment for decision came, she always drew back, preferring the consciousness of undiminished power. She felt that she was both king and queen, and would not resign one tittle of her authority. She might have been induced to decide in favour of one of her subjects, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, son of the late Duke of Northumberland, whom she had long favoured with a closer intimacy than was becoming. But this Cecil strenuously opposed. Thus she remained single, though the thorn always rankled in her bosom, that the young and beautiful Queen of Scots would be her heir, and by her marriage become the founder of a race of kings. She therefore resolved to influence Mary's matrimonial connection,

and above all to prevail on her not to ally herself to a papist. She informed Mary that her hereditary right to the crown of England would depend on her choice of a husband, and even proposed the Earl of Leicester. "What," exclaimed Mary indignantly, "propose to me an English subject, and a man too without whom she cannot live." This interference of
1565, July 29. Elizabeth at once determined Mary to decide in favour of her cousin, Lord Darnley. Such a choice might be considered politically prudent, for Darnley was cousin-german to Mary, and was descended, as well as herself, from Margaret, daughter of Henry VII. He was, after her, the next heir to the crown of England; and as, in consequence of his parents' banishment from Scotland, he had been born and educated in England, the royal pair were, in the public opinion, placed in closer connection with the English throne. Mary, it is true, by this step did not rise in the affection of either the Queen of England or of her own brother. Elizabeth in her first moments of excitement resolved to proceed in earnest, and conclude her own marriage with the Archduke Charles of Austria, yet she did not persevere. Murray also was displeased, and determined to make Mary suffer for having chosen a husband who had nothing to recommend him but a handsome person, and who threatened to supplant him in his influence over his half-sister. Hitherto it had been Murray's chief aim to induce the Protestant gentry to give up the question of religion, and to crowd in daily festivities round their gay and cheerful queen, and on that account he had even broken with Knox. He was now reconciled to him, joined the English party, and publicly declared that the Protes-

tant church was in danger. Mary took the field against Murray and his allies, and compelled them to seek refuge in England. Every thing would probably have gone on well, if the good understanding between Mary and her husband had continued. Darnley's profession of belonging to the Roman Catholic communion, may be attributed to his alliance with Mary, but it was a fatal mistake considering the state of public opinion. He soon proved a constant source of torment to the youthful and elegant queen, by his intolerable rudeness of manners, his vain ambition, and his love of spirituous liquors. No one was more unfit for state affairs, and yet no one more desirous of power than Darnley. Not contented with the title of king, he aimed at having a share in the government, and accordingly demanded to be crowned, but Mary steadily refused to yield her consent. She was now in the sixth month of her pregnancy when he caused David Rizzio, a native of Piedmont, to be barbarously assassinated in her presence. This deed was committed out of jealousy; but Darnley's jealousy had a political foundation, and the revenge of the offended husband was a mere pretext; for Rizzio was an able man, versed in the modern languages and accomplishments, on which account he was raised by the queen to the office of secretary. She was often in private with him, but circumstances plainly prove that their intercourse was perfectly harmless. All matters of business passed through his hands, and here he had entirely supplanted Darnley, and had offended him and many others by his arrogant presumption. When Mary was certain that Rizzio, who had been stabbed and dragged into another apartment, where

1566, March 9.

he was dispatched with fifty wounds, was dead, she summoned all her resolution and said, "I will now dry my tears and think of revenge." Darnley recalled the Protestant peers from their banishment in England, and, with their assistance, contrived for some time to hold the queen prisoner. She had scarcely been released, though without any disturbance in the kingdom, when she gave birth to prince James, the heir of herself and of Elizabeth. Elizabeth was dancing at a court festivity, when Cecil privately communicated the intelligence. She abruptly left the room, and was observed to be in great agitation; but on the following morning she had collected herself, sent congratulations to Mary, and accepted the office of sponsor to the infant prince. A violent excitement prevailed in England, through fear of a Roman catholic succession. The privy council and the parliament vehemently urged the queen to marry, but Elizabeth rejected their importunities, exhorted them to derive confidence from the present state of affairs, boldly asked them, as she had a right to do, whether the course of her government afforded a just ground for complaint. She, however, exempted from this praise the French war, which had been ingloriously concluded in 1564, by the French government making an arrangement with the Huguenots, the result of which was, that the English evacuated the two sea-ports of Havre and Dieppe, and did not recover Calais, the loss of which had been so keenly felt. She threw the blame of this war on her counsellors, and declined saying any thing decisive respecting the succession; which, like her father, she appeared to consider as a question, the determination of which rested with herself alone.

Jan. 19.

Between two and three o'clock in the morning of the 10th of February, 1567, the inhabitants of Edin- 1567.
burgh were aroused from their sleep by a dreadful explosion. The king's country-house had been blown up, and the corpse of the king and of several other persons were found at a considerable distance. This house was on the site now occupied by a part of the buildings of the university. Three months after, Mary was married to the Earl of Bothwell, whom public opinion branded with Darnley's murder, and no marvel that Mary herself did not escape suspicion, for her unhappy marriage had been long the subject of public discussion. Since the death of Rizzio, Mary and Darnley had seldom met; they scarcely ever dined together, and Darnley had not even been invited to the baptism of his child. When he was afterwards taken ill, and Mary attended upon him, a reconciliation was supposed to have taken place; but when the deed was done, just at a time when Mary had absented herself for a few hours to attend the marriage of one of her servants, the suspicion of the queen's participation in the dreadful crime was the more strongly excited. And did not Mary betray a guilty conscience when she covered her marriage with Bothwell under the cloak of an abduction, which she forgave the perpetrator on his humble apology? Thus Mary became the wife of a Protestant, who, only a fortnight before, had been divorced from his lawful wife on the plea of adultery. Punishment speedily followed this criminal marriage. The nobles rose against Bothwell, because he had murdered the king and now kept the queen prisoner: the dastardly Bothwell, without venturing a battle, fled

to Denmark; while the queen surrendered her person into the hands of the confederates. She was detained a prisoner; was compelled to hear herself stigmatised as the assassin of her husband; and, soon after, to resign the crown. Murray was appointed regent during the
July 20. minority of her son, and Prince James, who was only thirteen months old, was hereupon anointed and crowned. Elizabeth would gladly have had the young prince sent to England for his education, which might have been of advantage to both, but the plan was baffled by the hatred which separated the two nations. The Queen of Scots, however, had a party who laboured to obtain her release and restoration to the throne. Though she failed in her first attempt when, escaping in disguise from the Castle of Lochleven, she was betrayed by the beauty of her hand, a second attempt was successful. As
1568, May 2. soon as she found herself at liberty, she revoked her renunciation of the throne. But all her fond hopes terminated in the dispersion of her few faithful friends, and her own flight into England. As soon as she reached the English territory she entreated an audience of Elizabeth; but this was refused by the advice of Cecil, who considered it unbecoming a virgin queen to receive a woman, accused of adultery and murder, till she had cleared herself of these accusations before English commissioners. This requisition Mary, as an independent sovereign, rejected, and demanded safe conduct to Scotland, or to pass through England to France. But her demand was not granted, and Mary was detained, in order, as it was plausibly alleged, that she might be reinstated as soon as her enemies were vanquished. The unsuspecting Mary

fell into the snare; the investigation did not go beyond reciprocal recriminations, which did harm to both parties. It soon, however, appeared, that Elizabeth incurred danger from the presence of her presumptive successor, a Roman Catholic princess. The Duke of Norfolk aspired to Mary's hand, and was immediately committed to the Tower. The Roman Catholic religion had still many adherents in the northern provinces, and the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland took up arms to compel the queen to liberate Mary, and recognise her as her successor. They at the same time proclaimed the restoration of the Romish church, and called on foreign powers to aid them in this object. But a government, conducted on the principles of true toleration, had made the majority of the Roman Catholics interested in maintaining the power of Elizabeth. The insurgents met with no support, and were obliged to fly to Scotland. Elizabeth entirely calmed the minds of her people by declaring that she would not hurt one of her subjects on account of his religion, if it did not contradict the Holy Scriptures and the Catholic and Apostolic faith; that she did not pretend to the right of explaining creeds, or of altering long-established ceremonies; that the church must be guided and instructed by archbishops, bishops, and priests; and that he who did not openly offend against the existing laws, should not be molested.

The wisdom of this assurance appears the more clearly if we consider the general state of the affairs of Europe. The halcyon days, as the first ten years of Elizabeth's reign were called, were manifestly at an end. As far back as 1565, France and Spain had

entered into mutual engagements to extirpate Protestantism, even by the sword. The war against the Huguenots in France had been raging for two years; the heavily oppressed Netherlands already threatened to break the iron yoke of Philip II., when the Duke of Alva caused Counts Egmont and Horn to be executed, and for a time crushed all opposition under foot. Elizabeth was fully aware that Philip did not cease to call England a lost kingdom. She received into her capital thousands of fugitive Calvinists from France and Flanders, but was tardy in sending military aid. Once indeed she suffered her real sentiments to transpire, when in 1568 she detained five Spanish ships laden with money for the Duke of Alva, alleging that the money belonged to Italian bankers, with whom she would arrange respecting the security and interest. As a next step, English and Flemish privateers reciprocally captured merchantmen, and Elizabeth took a yet more decisive step when she sent to the Huguenots money and military stores, which were paid for in salt and oil. These were the preludes; how all would terminate was first indicated by the bull of Pope Pius V., which declared the queen of England guilty of heresy, her crown forfeited, and her subjects absolved from their oath of allegiance.

1568.

1570, Feb. 25.

1572. On the 25th of August the massacre of St. Bartholomew was perpetrated; a butchery more horrible than all the foul deeds of Alva himself. The resistance of the Protestants of France and the Netherlands became more energetic in proportion as their difficulties increased. The cautious princess, who, like her grandfather, was a lover of economy, at length threw off her reserve. The secret combination

of the French and Spanish courts, to quench the religious innovations in torrents of blood, was now revealed in the most appalling truth. Elizabeth could no longer conceal the internal conviction of her soul, that her cause and that of Protestantism were one. She sent assistance to the Netherlanders, but intimated to Philip that she did so merely to keep the French out of Holland, and that she would immediately employ her troops against the Netherlanders if they should renounce their allegiance to him. Philip pretended to be satisfied, and revenged himself as soon as he had the opportunity, by assisting the rebels in Ireland. 1577.

Elizabeth, however, was far from wishing to promote Protestantism in the spirit of the German Reformers; from recognising their leading principle, that the Holy Scriptures are the only rule of faith, and from conceding its inevitable consequences free inquiry, and a corresponding form of church government. She indeed allowed that there was in the Church a body of truths necessary to salvation, which could not be arbitrarily changed by royal authority; a concession never made by her father, who alleged on all occasions the divine authority which was inherent in the king, as such.

Elizabeth was resolved to be the head of the church, and, like her father, required the oath of supremacy from every Englishman who held a public office, and after 1571 a similar oath was exacted from the clergy. She made the same oath a condition for a seat in the House of Commons, but dispensed the peers from taking it, because she had other means of satisfying herself of their loyalty and obedience to the laws.

she promised to govern the church on the basis of the Thirty-nine Articles on which the clergy had agreed in 1562, and which were afterwards (1571) sanctioned by the parliament. No deviation from these Thirty-nine Articles was to be tolerated; hence arose her Act of Uniformity (1562), with the penalties which were threatened against the Nonconformists or Dissenters, though they were seldom enforced. The Protestant Dissenters were however very numerous; at the head of them were men who during the reign of Mary had left the kingdom for the sake of their religion. The main body consisted of about five thousand Calvinists, settled in the capital, and was composed of French, Swiss, Flemish, and German refugees, who, banished from their own country, here formed a close and compact union. In contradistinction to the Anglican church they designated themselves Puritans, that is to say, followers of the doctrine wholly purified from the dross of popery, and, in fact, held the same principles as the Scotch Presbyterians; they abhorred the popish ceremonies of the church of England, the government of bishops, and the oath of supremacy, but differed among themselves on some isolated points of doctrine. In the latter years of the reign of Elizabeth, the tendency to independence, which had once taken root, spread further. Many then found in the assembled Presbyteries the same religious constraint which had been so odious to them, first in the pope, and then in the bishops: hence emanated the doctrine that the elders do not derive their power from God; that every congregation is independent and has to decide on the concerns of its own church. Those who held these opinions were distinguished from the

other Puritans by the name of Independents. Elizabeth detested the Puritans even from the time of Knox, and determined not to yield to this tendency, which would form an insuperable barrier between her and the Romanists, so long as the Anglican church approximated externally to the Roman Catholic forms. As a sovereign, too, she would not relinquish the government of the church; hence, in the latter years of her reign, her supreme court of commission inflicted penalties more frequently than formerly, on Puritans and Roman Catholics, not merely for heterodox opinions, but for neglecting to attend the established worship, and for frequenting conventicles. She entertained the idea that the Papists hated her person; the Sectarians the royal authority, and the latter appeared to her the more culpable of the two. She accordingly exercised forbearance towards Romish priests who had performed their functions, though that performance involved the penalty of death, more readily than she tolerated puritanic zeal. The Puritans were not merely censured and fined but also punished by imprisonment and deposition, and two Anabaptists were even sentenced to be burnt.

The queen was indignant when she saw that these principles were evidently beginning to take root in the lower house. In one session no less than seven 1571.
motions were made in the commons, the object of which was to carry still further the reform of the church. This was treated by the ministers as an infringement on the queen's prerogative. During the Easter recess Elizabeth summoned Strickland, the mover of these bills, before the council, and prohibited him from again appearing in the House of

Commons. Being missed in his place after the recess, it was moved that he should be called to the bar of the house to explain the cause of his absence; for that he was not merely a private individual, but the representative of his constituents; that his exclusion was an affront to the country, and a breach of the privileges of parliament. The result was, that Strickland was allowed by the queen to resume his seat, but the house did not escape without a rebuke, for meddling with matters which were above its comprehension. Thus a religious division appeared even in the parliament. The great majority of both houses agreed together on the dangers of the return of the Romish power in the Church. The Duke of Norfolk was executed on the petition of parliament, and the
1572. Earl of Northumberland, having been treacherously given up by the Scotch, likewise suffered death.

1581. In the summer of 1581 a violent crisis seemed to be impending in Europe. The French and Spanish, so closely united by their religious principles, were divided by their political interests; and the latter suddenly prevailed. The Netherlands formally renounced their allegiance to Philip, and offered the sovereignty to Francis, Duke of Anjou, brother of Henry III., King of France, who had succeeded his brother Charles IX. in 1574. In consequence of this change of policy, an offensive and defensive alliance between France and England against Spain was negotiated, and Elizabeth engaged to cement this union by giving her hand to the duke, to whom she was in fact betrothed. The news of this event diffused universal joy in the Netherlands; but it excited in as great a degree the indignation of the English, who had ceased to desire the marriage of their sovereign,

who was now forty-nine years of age; for they apprehended that an alliance with the sanguinary house of Valois would lead to a return of all the abominations of Popery. The clergy vehemently declaimed against it from the pulpit, till the queen imposed silence, and sentenced a Puritan, who had written against it, to have his hand cut off. Elizabeth appears to have been quite infatuated with this worthless, dissipated prince, and to have admitted him to the most intimate familiarity; nor was it till she had nearly completed her error, and publicly placed the bridal ring upon his finger, that she regained her self-possession, and abruptly broke off the connection. Yet this last dream of marriage was not dispelled till the duke was seized with a dangerous sickness; and, to mention only the most honourable of the probable causes of his death, fell a victim to vexation at having, by a course of conduct equally foolish and ignoble, forfeited his high position in the Netherlands. 1584.

It now appeared full time to throw off the mask with regard to Spain. The city of Antwerp had been taken, after a memorable siege, by Philip's great general, the Duke of Parma, when Elizabeth suffered herself to be induced openly to render assistance to 1585. the distressed Netherlanders. She refused the offered sovereignty of the provinces, but sent 6,000 auxiliary troops at her own expense, under the command of her favourite, the Earl of Leicester, receiving some fortified towns as security for her disbursements. Notwithstanding, she still affirmed, that it was by no means her intention to deprive the King of Spain of his subjects, but only to protect them in their just liberties; yet she raised Leicester to the rank of

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governor and captain-general of the Netherlands. The campaign of her favourite did not answer the expectation which had been formed, and he was not long suffered to retain his new dignities.

While the Reformation, amidst repeated struggles, called the young republic of the Netherlands into existence, the Queen of Scots was languishing in an eighteen years' captivity. She could not reckon on any assistance from her apathetic son, though he had assumed the reins of government at the age of twelve, and had now attained his twentieth year. He knew his mother only as a bigoted woman, accused of the murder of his father, and was on terms of friendship with the Queen of England, whose heir he expected to become, and from whom he had latterly received an
1586. annual pension. Meanwhile, the political atmosphere of Europe was becoming more keen and threatening. The alliance with the house of Valois, which had so long menaced England, had rekindled the ancient feeling of hatred to the church of Rome: fear of the intrigues of jesuits in disguise, obtained more powerful influence in proportion to the vagueness of the reports; and the recent assassination of the great Prince of Orange, which was unquestionably brought about by the vengeance of Spain, gave ample scope for every suspicion. Hence, all eyes were again turned on Mary, pining away in her long captivity, prematurely aged and almost forgotten. The circle in which she sought air and exercise, was more and more contracted; and there needed only a slight impetus to decide her ruin. This impetus was given by the conspiracy of Babington and his accomplices, whose object was to murder Elizabeth; and, with the co-operation of an army from Spain and the Netherlands,

to place Mary upon the throne. It cannot be denied, that Mary had a general knowledge of this conspiracy, but it is equally evident, that some of the first counsellors of the crown knew of it from the very beginning; that they secretly encouraged the insane authors of the plot, furthered their correspondence with Mary, and did not sound the alarm till the faint sparks had lighted up a flame. It is plain that they resolved to bring matters to a crisis. The prisoner was suddenly deprived of her writing materials, and her papers were seized. Mary, on seeing her escritoire broken open, sent for her keeper, Amyas Pawlet. "There are still two things, sir, which you cannot take away; —the royal blood which gives me a title to the succession to the throne, and the constancy with which my heart cleaves to the religion of my fathers." In these words she emphatically pronounced the causes of her death.

From this time her confinement as a princess, was changed to close imprisonment in Fotheringay Castle, Northamptonshire. To this castle her judges, two and forty in number, repaired. As long as Mary refused to appear before the Commissioners, they threatened to try her as absent and contumax; and when she at length consented to appear, with the reservation of her royal rights, this reservation was disregarded, and she in vain demanded to be confronted with her accusers. In these events we no longer recognise in Lord Burleigh, that noble-minded Cecil who was formerly so tenacious of the real glory of Elizabeth and of England. He participated in the fanatic zeal of his colleagues, or assumed the appearance, in order the better to serve the passions of his

mistress. When the verdict of guilty, had been pronounced on the defenceless queen, for having conspired to compass the death of the Queen of England, the documents were laid before the parliament, and the two houses petitioned Elizabeth to let the law take its course. The sentence of death was announced
Nov. 22. to Mary on the 22d November, 1586. Pawlet now declared that, being condemned, she was already dead in the eye of the law, and consequently not entitled to the insignia of regal dignity. He accordingly removed the canopy of state from her apartment, and even so far insulted her, as to sit down covered in her presence. Elizabeth delayed till the
1587. 1st February, before she signed the warrant for her execution. The intercessions of France and of the King of Scotland were rejected. Though James's feelings towards his mother were callous and unnatural, yet he pointed out a way by which the commission of a crime might be avoided, without hazarding the security of England. He suggested that if the queen, with the assent of parliament, would exclude Mary from the succession to the throne, and cause him to be recognised in England, nothing could be apprehended from her, as a Papist, in the two Protestant kingdoms. James entertained no doubt that his mother might be induced to renounce every claim in favour of her son. But Elizabeth answered coldly, that a person who was condemned had no rights to resign. The daughter of Henry VIII. was always a stranger to the tender emotions of pity; and Elizabeth had secured all the external supports that can be desired by a prince who means to perform some weighty act. Her parliament, her privy council, and her people, or at least

the more powerful part, the Protestants, clamorously demanded Mary's death. Yet the queen hesitated to strike a blow which seemed to be directed against all crowned heads. She was seen to be deeply agitated with the internal struggle which generally preceded any important resolution, and was heard to say, "Aut fer aut feri, ne feriare feri;" — she was angry with Pawlet for not sparing her the pain of proceeding to extremities, and caused him to be sounded, for she well knew that he considered Mary a perverse Papist, worthy of death. But he answered like an honest man, that his life and his property were at the queen's service, but neither his conscience nor the honour of himself and his family. Further evasion was now impossible; yet Elizabeth sought out for a means whereby to throw off a part of the odium from herself. As on the occasion of the execution of the Duke of Norfolk, Burleigh was compelled to take the blame of the deed on himself, so in the present far more important case, her secretary Davison was the destined scapegoat. He had received the queen's orders to have the great seal affixed to the warrant for the execution. The next morning she sent for him and asked whether the warrant had passed the great seal, and being answered in the affirmative, she reproved him for his haste. This made Davison uneasy, and he resolved to acquaint Burleigh with what had passed; Burleigh, who knew his mistress well, immediately assembled the council, which unanimously agreed to hasten the execution of the warrant. "For it would be wrong, Feb. 4. they said, to trouble the queen any further; they must take the responsibility upon themselves." The commission of putting in force the order of the council

was delegated to the Earls of Shrewsbury and Kent,
1587. who immediately set out for Fotheringay. Mary was
Feb. 8. beheaded on the 8th of February, in the 19th year of her captivity and in the 45th of her age. Even her enemies confessed that she died with noble resignation, and faithful to her religion. On the receipt of the news in London, the bells of all the churches were rung for four and twenty hours, and bonfires lighted in the streets; but Elizabeth shuddered when she heard of it, went into mourning with all her court, vehemently declared that it had been done against her orders, and retired weeping into solitude: she refused to see Burleigh, and punished Davison by imprisonment and a fine of 10,000*l.*, which totally ruined that honest man, who did not regain his liberty during Elizabeth's reign. After she had in some degree recovered her composure, she wrote a letter of condolence to the King of Scotland, assuring him that her ministers should not go unpunished. She acted upon her promise, and dismissed them, though they were soon reinstated in her favour. Some time after she sent for the French ambassador, L'Aubespine, and, in a conference of three hours, explained to him at length, how great a calamity had befallen her in the death of Mary. "It had never been her intention," she said, "to have the sentence executed, unless in case of a rebellion or a hostile invasion; that she would never forget the trick which her counsellors had played her; but that they were old and faithful servants, and had meant well, otherwise it would surely have cost them their heads."

Happily for England, this disgraceful crime and the base rejoicings which attended it, were imme-

diately followed by a convulsion, which in some measure purified the nation from this bloody stain. The deed which the King of France, the brother-in-law of the murdered queen, censured, but took no steps to prevent, and which her own son bore in passive silence, roused Spain to arms. King Philip had endured a long series of the most intolerable mortifications from the woman who, as he boasted, was indebted to him for her life. She had destroyed the work of her sister, in which he had faithfully co-operated, and had delivered up England once more to heresy; she had supported his rebellious subjects, first secretly and then openly; her favourite Leicester, whom she preferred as a lover, to the most powerful sovereign as a husband, had presumed to take on himself the government of the Netherlands; her admiral, Francis Drake, not content with ravaging and plundering his West India possessions, capturing hundreds of Spanish merchantmen in the distant ocean, had even penetrated into the harbour of Cadiz, where he had destroyed eighty ships; and to crown all, she had now put to death a woman, a queen, and her lawful heir! It soon transpired that Philip contemplated some mighty enterprise against England. The Duke of Alva, shortly before his death, had laid down a plan of attack on an immense scale. This plan was to subdue England by a fleet of 600 sail, including 150 ships of the first rate, with 60,000 troops, under the command of Alva himself. But Alva's career as a general ended with the conquest of Portugal; he died almost in disgrace, and his project was laid aside, the rather because at that time the differences between the two courts were such as might soon be

April 19.

arranged, and not likely to lead to actual war. So long as Mary Queen of Scots lived, Philip had ground for hoping that every thing might terminate as he desired, by her accession to the throne. This hope was now dispelled, and the government and administration of England were in Protestant hands. The Roman Catholics, it is true, still constituted a large portion of the nation, but they needed a powerful impulse from without, to enable them again to seize the helm; this impulse it was now proposed to give them. The pope had already issued a bull of excommunication against Elizabeth, and a female attendant of the late Queen of Scots, armed with a pistol, had nearly avenged the death of her mistress. Gregory XIII., in addition to the bull, promised to send a subsidy of a million of crowns, so soon as a landing on the coast of England should have been effected.

The military preparations were indeed inferior to Alva's plan, but they excited the astonishment of the world; 135 men-of-war, manned with 8,000 sailors, and carrying 19,000 troops, were assembled in the harbour of Lisbon. Yet even this was not half the force; an entire forest had been felled in Flanders to build flat-bottomed boats, in which, as soon as the grand fleet should obtain the command of the Channel, Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma, the greatest general of the age, was to transport 30,000 men to the coast of England. Against this formidable combination, Elizabeth called to arms the entire population of the counties from the ages of eighteen to sixty. These the lord-lieutenants formed into companies, which were to compose two armies, each consisting of 30,000 men, who were to follow the queen, while

another body, also of 30,000 men, was reserved for the protection of the capital. But scarcely the fourth part had been assembled, when the contest was decided, and that by the naval force alone. Seventeen thousand sailors had been levied, and distributed among 180 ships of every size and description. The crown supplied only 34 tolerably large vessels, while the citizens of London alone furnished 33 ships. Lord Howard of Effingham had the chief command of the navy; under him served Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, men whose names were formidable in the Indian ocean. Scotland happily remained friendly; but infinitely more valuable was the soil, which had been so long prepared by the wise and conciliating policy of Elizabeth. The Roman Catholic portion of the nation felt much more as Englishmen than as Papists, and asked not for the happiness which a despot could offer. One spirit animated the adherents of every denomination to combat against their foreign foe. The queen gained confidence, because she had inspired confidence; and though she suffered a few individuals to be arrested and some houses to be searched, she rejected with abhorrence all the expedients suggested by sanguinary cowards: every thing that bore the most distant resemblance to a massacre of St. Bartholomew. Many Roman Catholic gentlemen entered as volunteers into the fleet or army, while others, who were in prison for the exercise of their religion, came forward and offered, in writing, to combat, even to the death, for the queen, though it were against the Pope himself.

On the 19th of July the *Invincible Armada*, the result of five years' preparation, appeared in the 1588, July 19.

Channel. The Duke of Medina Sidonia had weighed anchor in May, and sailed from the Tagus; but the fleet was overtaken by a storm, and forced to seek refuge in Corunna. Thus two months passed away, which were of the utmost importance to the safety of England. The delay, however, might have proved fatal, because Elizabeth, on a report that no attack was to be apprehended from the Armada in this year, had, from motives of economy, ordered four of the largest ships to be laid up; but Lord Howard ventured to disobey the command, and the result proved that he was right. For Philip, who had hitherto been so dilatory, would now hear of no further delay, and even rejected the Duke of Parma's counsel to provide for possible contingencies by taking possession of some spacious and fortified harbours, such for instance as Flushing. The Duke of Medina Sidonia was ordered not to commence his attack till the Duke of Parma had landed. Lord Howard, being informed of the approach of the Armada, instantly got out of Plymouth Sound, and met it coming full sail towards him. The fleet was arranged in the form of a crescent, and stretched seven miles across the Channel. Howard, at first, gave orders not to come to a close fight, on account of the size of the Spanish vessels; but, insignificant as the English ships appeared in comparison with the Spanish they gave the enemy much annoyance by their activity in attacking single ships, many of which ran aground on the rocks of the Channel. Nearly a week elapsed before the Armada was off Calais, to wait for the Duke of Parma, who meantime had assembled his forces in the harbours of Nieuport and Dunkirk. The union

was to take place on the following day. But in the night eight English fire-ships dashed, like blazing comets, through the profound darkness, and produced such a panic among the Spaniards that they cut their cables, and dispersed in all directions. This stratagem had been proposed by Sir Francis Drake. The Spaniards, indeed, escaped with the bare fright, because the fire-ships passed through the fleet without exploding; but the damage which the large, heavy ships sustained in the confusion was incalculable; and scarcely had the Spaniards recovered from their consternation, when a violent storm arose from the south-west. One of the largest ships run aground off Calais, and was taken after a brave resistance. Most of the vessels of the Armada drifted towards Gravelines, where they were overtaken by Drake, who was soon followed by Lord Howard with the main body of the fleet. Here the English commenced their renowned naval fight, which lasted from four o'clock in the morning of the 30th of July till six in the evening. The Armada lost thirteen or fourteen of its finest ships, and the setting sun witnessed the total discomfiture of the Spanish fleet. Hope, at the same instant, set in the soul of Medina Sidonia. He had been placed at the head of this mighty enterprize, which was to restore the dominion of Rome over the world, for no other merit than being an accomplished courtier and a grandee of Spain. The command had first been given to Admiral Santa Cruz, a brave officer of the old school, who had passed his life at sea. When he was preparing to sail he was seized with a fever, and died in disgrace. Medina Sidonia had hoped to reap where others had

July 29,30.

sown: but how different was the result! Alexander Farnese could not assist him, and, perhaps, scarcely intended it. He positively refused to venture, with his transports, into the Channel so long as the English had the command of the sea; and reminded Sidonia of the prudent counsel which he had given, and which had been despised. Though Medina Sidonia was still very strong, he gave up all idea of attack, and thought only how he might get back to Spain. But his return was prevented by the south wind, and by the victorious English fleet, which waited to intercept him. He accordingly resolved to sail round by Scotland, and, proceeding along the coast of Ireland, to reach the Spanish harbours by the Ocean. Howard, however, pursued him, in order to come to a second engagement; and it is affirmed that, in this extremity, Medina thought of a surrender of the Armada. However this may be, the English fleet merely threatened; they made no attack, for they had not sufficient ammunition for another battle, the queen having, as usual, been too economical in her supplies. Notwithstanding the subsequent losses sustained on the voyage, about one half of the Armada reached home. The officers of the Spanish court thought less of the loss and disgrace they had incurred than of the difficulty of communicating the intelligence to the king. After much deliberation, they at last found a courtier who undertook the delicate task. He found Philip seated at his writing-table. The king laid down his pen, listened to the recital, thanked God that it was no worse, and resumed his writing.

The Queen of England was received with acclamations by her army, as she rode through the ranks

mounted on a white charger, carrying a marshal's staff in her hand. The loss sustained had been insignificant; the glory boundless. Almost at the same time Nov. 24. that the shattered remnants of the Armada reached Spain, Elizabeth proceeded in triumphal procession through the metropolis to St. Paul's Cathedral. A torrent of patriotic enthusiasm pervaded England. On its waves floated a youthful William the Conqueror in the empire of poetry, the yet unrenowned Shakspeare, then in his twenty-fourth year. Bacon of Verulam, that light of science, was only three years older, but the brightness of his genius already shone forth with such splendour as to excite the jealousy of the aged Burleigh. The future destinies of England, in every species of power and greatness, were unfolded in these days of exaltation. Protestantism and naval strength stood their ordeal at the same time: henceforth neither could retrograde. How rapidly did a fleet of 42 ships, the largest of 40 guns, now arise under the watchful eye of the queen: how happily did the daring Sir Walter Raleigh, by settlements in North America, lay the foundation of the British colonial empire beyond the ocean, and name the newly founded colony Virginia, in honorem Elizabethæ virginis!

How often is our enjoyment of the bright prospect of the small amount of what is truly great clouded by the occasional spots and inconsistencies which cleave to it, or by the intervention of some private sorrow. In the midst of the general rejoicings, the queen bemoaned the loss of her lover, the handsome, wily, voluptuous Leicester, an accomplished courtier, an indifferent statesman, an unskilful general, and an utterly worthless man. He was strongly sus-

pected of having caused his first wife to be murdered, of which the queen was informed by Cecil; he was openly accused of having obtained his second wife by poisoning her husband, Walter, Earl of Essex; and, it is affirmed, was on the point of freeing himself from her by poison, when she anticipated him by giving him the potion he had prepared for her. Elizabeth, amidst her tears for the loss of her favourite, was sufficiently clear-sighted to look over the list of his debts, and finding that he was largely in arrears with her treasury, she repaid herself by the sale of his estates. His step-son, the young Earl of Essex, in some measure, succeeded him in the affections of Elizabeth.

After the striking proofs which Elizabeth had so recently received of the efficacy of a truly magnanimous conduct in matters of religion, it was highly censurable and deeply to be regretted that she now resumed her proceedings against the Roman Catholics, and turned to account, as a pecuniary resource, the penalties levied on the recusants, whether they merely neglected to attend divine service in the established church, or went so far as to deny her supremacy; it would seem as if her sole object were to cover, by this means, the expenses of the war. The tax on every Roman Catholic recusant was 20*l.* per month, and it was levied, without mercy, on all persons whose names were entered in a list drawn up in every county. In one case a nobleman was charged for sixty-nine months, during which he had not attended a church whose doctrines were opposed to his own creed, and fined 1380*l.* It was in vain that he made a declaration that he regarded the queen, notwithstanding all the excommunications that had been

pronounced against her, as his lawful sovereign, and that he was ready to defend her, with life and property, against all princes, popes, potentates, prelates, and other enemies. This declaration availed him only for his personal liberty; he was compelled to pay the fine. Many preferred compounding for a reduced annual sum; while those who were unable to pay, suffered corporal punishment. Every attendance at mass was subjected to a fine of 100 marks and a year's imprisonment. Frequent domiciliary visits were made by appointed officers, and if a Roman Catholic priest was discovered in the house, the owner forfeited all his property. But one sin inevitably leads to another, and rapacity was speedily succeeded by cruelty. The detected priest suffered a yet heavier punishment than that imposed upon the person who had harboured him: his only alternative was death. Dr. Lingard, in his History of England, relates (and partly supports by proof), that during the fourteen years from the defeat of the Armada to the demise of the queen, above 100 members of his church suffered death: namely, 61 priests, 47 laymen, and 2 ladies of rank. The aged Burleigh sanctioned these penal proceedings, under the conviction that no Roman Catholic priest gave absolution, without alienating the penitent from his allegiance to the queen; he considered it, however, sufficient punishment to hang the priest, and recommended that drawing and quartering should be dispensed with. The Puritans were grievously mistaken, if they inferred from this severity that their innovations would, henceforth, be treated with more forbearance and indulgence. It was precisely the contrary. Their mode of appealing, in matters of faith,

exclusively to private judgment, their doctrine that the Church alone is of God, and that civil institutions are but the work of man, was highly displeasing to the queen. Whenever they exercised their worship in public it was suppressed, and when they revenged themselves by libels on the bishops, the number of printing presses was limited, and nothing was allowed to be printed, sold, stitched, or bound, without the previous sanction of the bishop. An act
1592. of parliament went to the utmost extreme, by fixing a delay of three months, within which the recusants of both parties were to be converted to the established religion under the penalty of felony. This rigorous measure was not, however, carried into execution, and in the latter years of the reign of Elizabeth, the Protestant recusants were not persecuted.

Several years passed over without the occurrence of any striking event. Elizabeth's good and adverse fortune were equally balanced. If she had the mortification of seeing Calais fall into the hands of Spain, so that it might perhaps become a rallying point for a second Armada, she revenged herself by the conquest and destruction of Cadiz. If she was mortified by the peace between Spain and Henry IV., yet by this peace Calais reverted to France. She also survived the death
1598. of her irreconcilable enemy, Philip II.; but had, almost at the same time, to mourn over the death of the aged and faithful Cecil. By the conquest of Portugal, Philip had become master of both the Indies; yet he died almost a beggar, leaving a country exhausted by excise duties, forced loans, and voluntary contributions. Elizabeth possessed no countries rich in gold and spices; she did not, like her grandfather, covet a full exchequer; she loved money only to employ it for

good, and, as she nobly said, preferred that it should remain in the hands of her subjects, on whom she imposed but few extraordinary burdens. Hence the national prosperity advanced*: and it was the delight of the English to traverse distant oceans in search of trade or adventure. A great abuse of Elizabeth's government was the frequent grant of monopolies to favourites, who thereby acquired, for a certain number of years, the exclusive right of dealing in wines of the south of Europe, vinegar, oil, salt, &c.: so that all retail dealers were compelled to purchase these articles from them. On the frequent remonstrances of parliament, representing that the prices of the necessaries of life were thereby doubled, Elizabeth yielded, and 1601.
revoked or suspended the monopolies. Accordingly her historians, even when they have cause to blame, are constrained to speak in her praise. Henry VIII. sacrificed the public weal to his passions, and this characteristic stamps him as a bad ruler, who, without any merit of his own, died in the possession of great powers. Elizabeth inherited all her father's passions, his haughtiness, and his love of pleasure, together with a very considerable portion of the unamiable qualities of her grandfather; but after the most violent internal struggles, the interest of the state prevailed, and thus she obtained the commendation of being a great sovereign.

The last acts of Elizabeth's life were connected with Ireland, a country conquered centuries before, but never yet really possessed by the kings of England. Since the Reformation it was doubly

* England already boasted the beautiful invention of the stocking-loom.

separated from England, and doubly devoted to its own usages and to its chiefs. Elizabeth formed the plan of attaching the island more closely to her crown, by the better administration of justice, and various other reforms. She would not suffer her officers in that country to proceed on a system of despotism and plunder. Sir Henry Sidney and Sir John Perrot (who was believed to be a natural son of Henry VIII.), were strict, but just governors. Perrot inexorably punished every Englishman who had committed any excess against the natives, and endeavoured to induce the latter gradually to adopt English civilization. Many chiefs were persuaded to submit their disputes to the royal tribunals, instead of settling them among themselves by arms. Some of them overcame their national prejudices so far, as to appear in their parliament in the English costume. This parliament was composed exclusively of Roman Catholics, for Elizabeth had shown her wisdom in not extending her severity in religious matters to Ireland. That country, it is true, had yielded to the first impulse given by the defection of Henry VIII. from the pope; here, too, with the consent of the Irish parliament, the king was declared the sole head of the church, the oath of supremacy was taken, and monasteries were suppressed. As the claim of the kings of England to Ireland rested upon a papal grant, Henry had abolished the feudal tenure and the tribute to the pope, and raised the island, by an act of parliament, to the rank of a kingdom. He, however, did not proceed beyond this: but when Edward VI. attempted to carry out the principles of the Reformation, the Irish made resistance; in consequence of which several of their bishops were

deposed. English clergymen of the established church were appointed to fill the vacant bishoprics: but this measure could be enforced only in those parts where the sway of England was actually exercised; that is to say, in about one third of the island; or, to speak more accurately, in eleven of the eastern counties. These were regulated according to the English economy. English colonists resided there, and possessed the land, while the native Irish were only servants or tenants. It was here, too, that the University of Dublin was founded in this reign. The state of the two other thirds was totally different. There, where all were Roman Catholics, and understood as little of the English of their new preachers, as of the Latin of their priests, every district was under the power of hereditary chiefs, who looked with contempt on those apostates who had usurped their territory, with the name of county, as fiefs of the English crown. Under Perrot's administration, the county of the second Earl of Desmond, who had been declared a traitor, fell to the crown. Its extent was 600,000 acres of land. The government resolved to divide it exclusively among English families, and compel the natives to quit the county; but this unjustifiable plan could not be carried into effect. The natives of the soil, it is true, remained as tenants at will, but on very hard terms. 1591.

Notwithstanding the just administration of Perrot, his adversaries succeeded in prejudicing the queen, and a penal charge had just been brought against him, when O'Neal, Earl of Tyrone, grandson of the first earl of that name, threatened an insurrection. The O'Neals were the ancient sovereigns of Ulster,

and had been created earls of Tyrone by Henry VIII. Tyrone demanded for the Roman Catholics the free exercise of their religion, relying for assistance on the two thirds of the population who were undoubtedly Roman Catholics, and also on Spain and the pope. The Earl of Essex desired to be sent against this rebel chief. Essex had gradually obtained the same place as his stepfather in the favour of the queen, who took pleasure in his frank, youthful, and often forward manner; and forgave him for being the son of the wife of her favourite. In his letters to the queen, he is enraptured with the sun of her beauty; in his imprudent correspondence with others, he designates her as "the old woman, whose judgment is as crooked as her back." Essex obtained the government of Ireland. He had proved his warlike prowess in the conquest of Cadiz; but he was now the spoiled child of fortune, who sometimes dared to treat the queen with insolence to her face. One day, in a dispute with Elizabeth, without making a reply, he turned his back upon her, on which she gave him a box on the ear, and told him to go to the devil. Instead of apologising or withdrawing, he clapped his hand upon his sword; and the persons present interposing, he went out exclaiming, that he would not have borne such an affront even from Henry VIII. himself, and much less from a king in petticoats. The queen, however, was unwilling to refuse him the post of governor of Ireland; but he had lost her confidence; she placed spies about him, and prohibited him from giving the command of the cavalry to his friend the Earl of Southampton.

1599. Essex justified her distrust. Instead of defeating

Tyrone, he concluded an armistice with him, by which the free exercise of their religion was secured to the Roman Catholics; one half of the army in Ireland was in future to consist of natives; the O'Neals, the O'Donnels, and the Desmonds, were to be reinstated in the territories which they possessed two centuries before; the chief civil and the judicial appointments were to be held by natives; and what appeared particularly suspicious, the governor of Ireland was henceforth to be an earl, with the title of viceroy. Elizabeth's indignation was kindled; a dark suspicion crossed her mind that Essex, in concert with Tyrone, even aimed at the crown of Ireland. Essex, being informed of the queen's displeasure, hastily left Ireland without her permission; and, early one morning, suddenly appeared at his usual place in the queen's bed-chamber, and threw himself at her feet. Elizabeth was too weak to resist the delight inspired by his presence, she held out her hand for him to kiss, saw him again during the course of the day, but in the evening gave him in charge of the lord keeper. The earl had no resource but to fall sick, and the queen sent him restoratives which she had herself prepared, but did not visit him.

The earl being much beloved by the people, the queen, in order to justify the proceedings against him, had the affair examined by a commission, which was to give an opinion, but not to pass a sentence. The commission decided that he deserved to be deprived of his offices, and to be a prisoner in his own house during her majesty's pleasure. The frank, ardent character of Essex, in a world full of craft and dissimulation, had gained him many friends, who were

ready to risk their lives and fortunes for him, especially the Earl of Southampton. But the very zeal of his friends blinded the unfortunate nobleman to his total inability to execute the extravagant plans, which agitated his indignant soul. With the profound humility which had become usual in intercourse with the queen, who was accustomed to the grossest flattery, he apparently submitted to all her pleasure, bid adieu to a wicked world, and was talked of only for his pious exercises, while he was, in fact, secretly but actively engaged in negotiations with
1660. the king of Scotland, and with his friend Lord Mountjoy, who had succeeded him in Ireland. The object of this intrigue was, if not actually to dethrone the queen, yet to subject her so far to his will, that all his enemies should be banished from her presence, especially Robert Cecil, son of the aged Burleigh; and who had, in some measure, inherited his influence. James really took some steps towards joining in their conspiracy, but he did not approve of the violent methods which were proposed; and persisted in requiring that his title to the succession should be expressly acknowledged by the queen.

The plan of Essex was to place himself at the head of his confidential friends, and of a body of men whom they were to levy; to attack the guard of the palace; to force his way into the queen's presence; to throw himself at her feet, and not to rise till she should have granted all his requests. But the constant resort of persons of every description to Essex House attracted the attention of the ministers. The earl received a summons to appear before the council; and on his excusing himself, under the plea of indisposi-

tion, four of the principal members waited upon him. There was now no alternative but to conquer or to be Feb. 8.
ruined. Essex detained the deputies, and called on the citizens of London to take arms. In an instant all his fond delusions were dispelled. He was shunned wherever he appeared in public; and he returned in despair to his own house, where he was soon surrounded and compelled to surrender with his partisans. He was beheaded in the inner court of the Feb. 25.
Tower in the thirty-third year of his age. Southampton was pardoned, but confined in the Tower; and the governor of Ireland obliterated, by his distinguished services, the small share of blame which he might have incurred by his constant friendship. He repulsed 4000 Spaniards who had landed in Ire- 1602.
land, and defeated the Earl of Tyrone; who, being reduced to extremities, offered to submit; and nearly at the same hour in which Elizabeth, the last of the 1603.
Tudors, breathed her parting sigh, she became the real sovereign of Ireland.

The glory of her reign was constantly on the increase. "In the judgment of her contemporaries," says Lingard (and that judgment has been ratified by the consent of posterity), "Elizabeth was numbered among the greatest and the most fortunate of our princes. The tranquillity which, during a reign of nearly half a century, she maintained within her dominions, while the neighbouring nations were convulsed with intestine dissensions, was taken as a proof of the wisdom or the vigour of her government. When she came to the throne, England ranked only among the secondary kingdoms; before her death, it had risen to a level with the first nations in Europe."

In every point in which Elizabeth was great, she reaped the full measure of her reward; she had become the admiration of the world. But after the execution of Essex, her popularity declined. This she soon discerned, and it was this discovery which made her the more poignantly sensible of the death of her favourite. She felt herself doubly isolated when she learned that Robert Cecil, and even her confidant the Countess of Nottingham, had already entered into a correspondence with the King of Scotland, and turned to worship the rising sun. Yet, by an immense effort she held up for a time the mask of cheerfulness, with a feeble hand. In her seventieth year she was seen to dance the gaillard with the Duke of Nevres. But all at once she lost the power of deceiving herself and others. She confessed to the French ambassador that she was weary of life. She looked with disgust on her haggard, wrinkled countenance; the farce of human greatness appeared in its true colours; and, for the first time in her life, she regarded her flatterers with contempt. She passed days and nights in tears and sighs upon cushions that lay upon the ground, till her attendants almost forced her to take to her bed. Her last words on state affairs, uttered two days before her death, are characteristic of her singular union of self-will and greatness, once more manifesting itself in the hour of departure. The high admiral, the conqueror of the Armada, now Earl of Nottingham, the lord keeper Egerton, and the secretary of state, Robert Cecil, were standing at her bedside. Lord Nottingham ventured to ask her to name her successor. She started, and then said, "I will have no rascal for my

successor; who should succeed me but a king?" Cecil urging her to speak more clearly — "My successor," said Elizabeth, "must be a king, and who could that be but my cousin of Scotland? But leave me in peace." Thus she maintained, though almost speechless, that power of self-denial in state affairs which it had cost her so much to acquire, and which places her far above all female sovereigns recorded in history; and her dying command united Scotland with the crowns of England and Ireland. She expired on the 24th of March, 1603, in the seventieth year of her age; and the forty-fifth of her reign. 1603. Mar. 24.

CHAPTER II.

The First Two Stuarts.

JAMES I.

1603—1625.

James found the assurances which Robert Cecil had privately made to him fully confirmed. Not a voice was raised in England against his claim, for the whole nation was favourably disposed towards him. The Roman Catholics expected from him toleration of their religion, which was all they desired, and of which it seems they had received the king's secret promise; while, on the other hand, the adherents of the established church were looking forward to his special patronage; they knew full well how much James had suffered in his youth from the austerities of the Presbyterians, and how cordially he detested their political levelling.

This prince, who crossed the Tweed amidst universal acclamations, was now in his thirty-seventh year. He had nothing prepossessing in his personal appearance, and bore not the slightest trace of the grace and beauty of his mother. He was very stout, and of middling stature; wore a thickly wadded, dagger-proof doublet; and being a miserable horseman, rode along at a slow pace. His delicately fair complexion, remarkably scanty beard, and large

vacant eyes, betrayed a timorous character. When he spoke it was evident that his tongue was too large for his mouth; when he drank it was with difficulty, and as if he were eating his beverage, which trickled down into the cup on both sides of his mouth. He had not been able to walk till he was seven years of age, and now his legs were too weak to support him, and he always required an arm to lean upon. On this tottering foundation was erected a lofty superstructure of knowledge, especially of theological reading. The learned Buchanan had made him a masterpiece in his way. "The king's mouth," it was said, "overflows with maxims of political wisdom;" his admirers called him "the British Solomon;" though the great Sully, who at the beginning of his reign was sent over as ambassador from the court of France to congratulate him on his accession, ventured to designate him "the wisest fool in Europe." Let us examine which of the two characters is the more correct.

While on his journey, James was informed that a dangerous epidemic was raging in London; this, with his natural timidity, presented no slight obstacle; but his anxiety to receive the British crown triumphed over his fears, and he proceeded on his route. The coronation took place, without pomp, on St. James's day, the 25th of July; and he immediately after hastened from the capital. July 25.

Though the principal counsellors of Elizabeth had so decidedly devoted themselves to his service, James was not without apprehensions till he had been actually crowned. A rival claim, it was feared, might be put in by the young Lady Arabella Stuart, who was, like himself, descended from Margaret, eldest sister of

Henry VIII. She belonged, it is true, to the younger line; but her early attachment to, and projected marriage with William Seymour, who was descended from Mary, Henry's younger sister (whose posterity had been preferred by that capricious monarch in the order of succession), gave great uneasiness to James; and a conspiracy was actually discovered, in which Sir Walter Raleigh was implicated. He was charged with having designed to raise the Lady Arabella to the throne, under the protection of Spain, though she does not appear to have known any thing of it. The object of the conspiracy was probably, if not to effect a change in the government, at least to compel the king to remove the counsellors of the late queen, in order that the conspirators might occupy the vacant offices. Robert Cecil, who, notwithstanding the feebleness of his bodily frame, urged himself to incessant activity, was the very man to defeat such crude attempts. James's suspicion, however, which, once awakened, never slumbered again, prepared much suffering for his innocent relatives, because they married without his consent. Seymour was sent to the Tower, and the Lady Arabella became insane, and died in prison; while Sir Walter Raleigh atoned on the scaffold for his many presumptuous enterprizes.

James's favourite maxim was, "No bishop, no king." Hence almost the only objection he had to the Roman Catholics was, that they raised the pope to the place which belonged exclusively to the sovereign. He did not indeed dare to grant them the free exercise of their religion, but he assured them verbally of exemption from the punishment of recusancy, if they remained loyal to him. With the Puritans, on the

contrary, he was thoroughly disgusted, because they would not subject their church to a bishop, nor their political creed to a king. In both these respects the established church was exactly suited to him; and James declared that he had been converted to it six years before. The archbishop of Canterbury blindly affirmed that "his heart melted within him when he listened to the discourses of a king who had not had his equal since the time of Christ." Many of the clergy who, being puritans, refused to take the oath, were deprived of their benefices. But, in order to preserve the due balance, he soon afterwards returned to the system of exacting twenty pounds per month from the Roman Catholic recusants. The latter looked upon this as a scandalous breach of faith, and the extortion became intolerable, when payment was demanded for arrears since the death of Elizabeth. It is stated that 400 families were ruined by this proceeding in the county of Hereford alone, to which were added domiciliary visits, arrests, and imprisonments, and even some executions. People did not fail to remark that these fines flowed chiefly into the pockets of the Scotch, whom the king had brought with him to England, as to a land of Goshen. Hence all parties were soon dissatisfied with the new government, and some Roman Catholics formed the plan of a desperate enterprise. At the head of this plot were men of eminent birth, Robert Catesby and Thomas Percy, who had led a dissipated life, and adopted one religious profession after another. These, with Wright, Fawkes, and Winter, took an oath of secrecy, and afterwards privately heard mass and received the sacrament from the hands of Garnet, a jesuit. Their design was to blow up the two

houses of parliament by gunpowder, on the day that the king should open the session. The conspirators purchased a garden, in which there was an old house, adjoining that part of the palace of Westminster where the parliament held its sittings. There, with indefatigable zeal, they dug a mine, till they were suddenly stopped by a thick wall. On making inquiry, they learnt that on the other side of this wall there was a cellar, directly under the house of
1605. January. lords, which was unoccupied, and to be let. They instantly hired it, and conveyed into it barrels of gunpowder, which were carefully covered over with faggots. Catesby was the only rich man among the conspirators: all were fanatics, but not all without some scruples of conscience. Catesby, however, silenced, by Jesuitical authorities, the anxious doubts of some, whether it was not wrong to destroy so many innocent persons with the guilty. In the end it was agreed to save a few members, and to induce them, by a secret message, to keep away from the house on the day when the plan was to be executed. It was agreed that, after the king's destruction, his second son, prince Charles, should be proclaimed; that his person should be seized, and that, during his minority, a protector should be placed at the head of the government. The opening of parliament was to take place on the 5th of November. On the 26th of October Lord Monteagle, whose brother-in-law was one of the conspirators, received a letter, warning him not to attend at the opening of parliament. He communicated it to the secretary of state, who, though the dark hints in the letter seemed to indicate the source of the danger, did not cause the cellar to be examined, lest the conspirators should take alarm. The king, however, was

informed of the affair. It was not till two o'clock in the morning of the 5th of November, when the plot was to have been executed, that Fawkes, one of the conspirators, was seized, just as he was entering the cellar, with a dark lantern, and some matches in his pocket. Two and thirty barrels of gunpowder were found concealed in the cellar. As soon as it was known that the plot had been discovered, the conspirators fled. Many of them sought and met their deaths, in united resistance against the armed power; others were taken prisoners, and expiated their crimes on the scaffold. Nov. 5.

James, who frequently indulged in severe remarks upon Elizabeth, neglected to learn from her how to make a throne respected. His good nature was generally acknowledged, but it was lost sight of in his severe penal proceedings against the Roman Catholics. His parsimony was transformed into boundless prodigality, as soon as he set his foot on English ground. He contracted debts, and paid them with the monies obtained by the sale of domains; raised the duties of the customs without consulting parliament; and loaded his Scotch friends with presents. All this was the less justifiable, because Elizabeth, in consequence of the great expenses of her wars, had by no means left a full treasury, but, on the contrary, debts, to the amount of 400,000*l*. The system of James, with respect to foreign powers, was pacific; but in the heat of theological controversy, and often in his diplomatic notes, he forgot both his system and his natural timidity. Besides theological polemics, he was fond of cockfighting, and the daily sports of the chase. He was averse from the regular business of govern-

ment; and whenever his ministers urged him to give his attention to it, he replied "that his health was the health of the nation; that he must have exercise and recreation, or his people would suffer." After such relaxation, he would indulge in the pleasures of the table, and thought himself moderate if he was intoxicated only once in the day. His consort, Anne, of Denmark, sister of Christian IV., who was in all respects far superior to her husband, has, without foundation, been accused, by some writers of the last century, of occasionally giving way to this vice; the imputation being solely founded on a misinterpretation of a letter of Sir John Harrington. Allegorical dances were at that time much in vogue; and Sir John states that at one of these entertainments, at Theobald's, the lady who acted the part of the Queen of Sheba, who had come to visit the wise Solomon (James), was carried out of the room, while her court ladies, who represented Faith, Hope, and Charity, were unable to keep their feet.

Sovereign princes, it would seem, ought carefully to avoid all questions of principle. James was most satisfied when every one listened to him, and he was fond of publicly discussing the most delicate questions. He once, at dinner, inquired of two bishops whether he had not a right to take money from his subjects when he stood in need of it, without the formality of a parliament. Bishop Neile answered, "God forbid that your Majesty should not be able to do so; you are the breath of our nostrils." Bishop Andrews said that he did not understand affairs of state; but as the king continued to urge him, he replied, "My opinion is, that your Majesty may lawfully take the money of my brother Neile; for he offers it."

There were two things which the king had really at heart,—how to get money, and how to make Scotland as like as possible to England. His views were directed to a union, and in 1604 he assumed the title of King of Great Britain; but the houses of parliament would hear of nothing except the abolition of some tolls on the frontiers; they would by no means consent that a Scotchman, as such, should be naturalised in England, and *vice versâ*. This point the king afterwards partially carried; but his plan went further—he aimed at the destruction of the presbyterian church, and the re-establishment of episcopacy in Scotland. He began with restoring the thirteen ancient Scotch bishopries, and conferred the title of bishop on as many clergymen. His second step was to make them presidents of synods and presbyteries; and though many objections were raised, he carried this also into effect. Dotations were gradually formed, and three of the bishops elect went to England to be consecrated by English prelates, and on their return home consecrated their colleagues. The Scotch parliament concluded the affair, by giving to the bishops spiritual jurisdiction, and requiring every clergyman to take the oath of supremacy, and the oath of obedience to the bishop. 1604.

The king's pecuniary wants gave rise to differences between him and the English parliament, which, under the Tudors, had become a most submissive body. Elizabeth rigidly abided by those principles which, on the opening of her first parliament, were expressed by Sir Nicholas Bacon, the lord keeper, altogether in the arbitrary style of her father: "If the queen consults the two houses, it is from choice, and not from necessity; that her laws may be the more suit-

able to the good of the people, not as if they derived their efficacy from the assent of the parliament. By virtue of the royal prerogative, she possesses every thing requisite for the government of the kingdom; and may, at pleasure, dispense with the existing statutes, and issue proclamations which have the force of laws." In Elizabeth's opinion, the chief duties devolving upon parliament were, to grant taxes, to regulate the affairs of trade and commerce, and to pass local laws. James, with theological unction, magnified kings into the image of God; claimed for the king, as for the Deity, all control over the soul and the body of the subject; and called it sedition, blasphemy, and denial of God's power, to doubt the king's authority. He, however, met with opposition in the house of commons, when he attempted to attribute directly to the crown the right of levying taxes. Such opposition was repeated; and though, in 1614, James sent the most violent orators of the house of commons to the Tower, their arguments continued to influence public opinion, because the king was so lavish of his money, and the queen inexhaustible in inventing court festivities.

Among the numerous methods to which James was compelled to resort, in order to improve his finances, was the sale of lands in Ireland to English colonists, and the creation of baronets, who, as their title in-
1611. dicates, were to form a lower class of nobility. In order to enhance its value in public estimation, he promised that no more than 200 letters patent should be granted, and those only to persons who could prove their descent at least from their paternal grandfather, who had borne arms, and possessed a clear

revenue of 1000*l.* a-year. The fees for this patent were 1095*l.*; and though the original condition was at first adhered to, yet, eventually, any person who could pay that sum, obtained his letters patent as baronet, and, for the most part, the right of inheritance in the male line. James greatly contributed to inflict upon the English nobility all the defects attached to that of Germany. Besides this, he injured, in public opinion, the only really constitutional nobility, that which invests the eldest sons with political importance as the hereditary counsellors of the crown, sitting in parliament. No secret was made of the sum for which a man might purchase a seat in the upper house, as baron, viscount, or earl, viz. for 10,000*l.*, 15,000*l.*, and 20,000*l.*, according to the rank. It was alleged that the fees paid for the baronet's patent were to assist in defraying the expenses of the colonisation of Ulster, the execution of which must necessarily be supported by troops; for this reason all baronets still bear the arms of Ulster (a bloody hand), in addition to those of their family. In reality, however, the whole sum flowed into the king's coffers. James's means were not commensurate with his wants: he therefore continually sent bonds to the counties, with merely the privy seal attached to them; and though the greater part came back protested, yet some were honoured. A remittance of silver, to the value of about 1000*l.*, from a newly discovered Scotch mine, afforded him particular gratification, though it appeared that the expense of working it more than tripled that sum.

Some improvements were introduced in the administration, when Robert Cecil, who had been created

Earl of Salisbury, took upon him, in addition to his other burdens, the office of Lord Treasurer. But, in four years, his strength was exhausted; and,
1612. on his death, occasioned by grief at the state of his country, all the former mismanagement returned, the more rapidly, as thenceforward the government was entirely in the hands of a succession of unworthy favourites. The first of these was Robert Carr, a Scotchman, whom James first made Earl of Rochester, and then Duke of Somerset. On his fall, he was succeeded by George Villiers, whom the king loaded with wealth and honours, and, in a short time, created Marquis of Buckingham. Even Francis Bacon bowed before his all-powerful influence; he rose, through him, to the rank of lord keeper, but lost his offices on being convicted by the parliament of having taken bribes. It was melancholy to see so transcendent a genius entangled in the most degrading practices by an unbounded prodigality. Ought such a maxim as "A good bowler must have his knee almost close to the ground," to have proceeded from a man like Bacon? More constant in science than in combat with the seductions of office, Bacon survived only a few years the downfal of his greatness. Vain were all his endeavours to regain it by the most abject humiliation; a fame, which spread over Europe, was wrecked on a sea, through whose whirlpools and shallows the slight bark of Buckingham glided with sportive ease.

A party in opposition to the government had long been forming in the house of commons, but they did not venture to make any open resistance till there was reason to conclude that the king was not sincerely attached to the cause of the Reformation. James's

motto was *Beati pacifici*, and soon after his accession, he concluded peace with Spain (Aug. 11. 1604). Many persons might have supposed that he would have preferred the continuance of the war, which animated the adventurous spirit of the freebooters; but the object of the struggle had been attained, and the independency of the Netherlands might now be considered as secure. His plan of marrying his eldest son, Henry, to the Infanta Donna Maria, then only five years of age, also excited general disgust, and when, on the death of Henry in 1612, an endeavour was made, 1612.
with indecent haste, to substitute Prince Charles, now heir to the throne, the public indignation could no longer be restrained. Soon after, the great religious war in Germany broke out, in which both the English and their king were so deeply interested. The young and beautiful Princess Elizabeth, James's only daughter, had entered into marriage with Frederic, the Elector Palatine, with a light and gladsome 1613.
spirit. While the nuptial service was performing, she could scarcely restrain her delight; but now she was oppressed with heavy cares; she enjoyed the dignity of Queen of Bohemia for only one winter, and then, after the battle of Prague, was compelled by the anger of the emperor to fly the country with her husband. The people and parliament of England would gladly have seen the whole power of Great Britain hasten to the aid of Protestant Germany. None, it is true, would have blamed the king, if the peace of his country had been dearer to him than the welfare of his daughter and foreign co-religionists; but when the great cause of the age was evidently of no importance in his eye, and he merely prosecuted the petty family interest with petty means; when he sent 4000 men

to Germany, merely to preserve the palatinate for his son-in-law, he only showed his weakness, and exposed the power of England to contempt. The house of commons urgently pressed for a powerful support of
1621. the distressed Protestants in Germany; they unreservedly disapproved of the projected Spanish marriage, and even ventured to remonstrate with the king for committing a member of parliament to prison. Hereupon James directed a letter to the speaker, in which he sharply rebuked the house for interfering in matters which were far above its comprehension; and with respect to the imprisonment of members, he further desired the speaker to inform the house, "that we think ourselves fully entitled to punish every misdemeanour in parliament, as well during its sitting as after its dissolution." This was too much. The Commons respectfully remonstrated, and claimed freedom of speech in parliament, as an ancient undoubted right — an inheritance transmitted to them from their forefathers. The king replied: "We cannot allow of your style, in mentioning your ancient and undoubted right and inheritance, but would rather have wished that ye had said that your privileges were derived from the grace and permission of our ancestors and us." But the Commons persevered, and on the 18th of December, "between five and six in the evening, by candlelight," they entered on their books a protest in the following terms: —

"The commons now assembled in parliament, being justly occasioned thereunto, concerning sundry liberties, franchises, and privileges of parliament, amongst others here mentioned, do make this protestation following: That the liberties, franchises, and jurisdic-

tions of parliament are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England; and that the urgent and arduous affairs concerning the king, state, and defence of the realm and of the Church of England, and the maintenance and making of laws, and redress of mischiefs and grievances which daily happen within this realm, are proper subjects and matters of counsel and debate in parliament; and that in the handling and proceeding of those businesses, every member of the house of parliament hath, and of right ought to have, freedom of speech, to propound, treat, reason, and bring to conclusion the same; and that the commons in parliament have the liberty and freedom to treat of these matters in such order as in their judgment shall seem fittest, and that every member of the said house hath like freedom from all impeachment, imprisonment, and molestation (other than by censure of the house itself), for or concerning any speaking, reasoning, or declaring of any matter or matters touching the parliament or parliament business. And that if any of the said members be complained of and questioned for any thing done and said in parliament, the same is to be shown to the king, by the advice and assent of all the commons assembled in parliament, before the king give credence to any private information."

The king, highly incensed, immediately hastened up to London, sent for the Journals of the Commons, and with his own hand, in presence of the council, tore out the protestation and dissolved the parliament. 1622. Jan. 6. The leading members of the house were committed to the Tower, and some to other prisons.

The anger of James at these events increased his

vexation at the impediments thrown in the way of the Spanish marriage, which had now been protracted for years, and was daily becoming more obnoxious to the English. James had a twofold object in view in this alliance: the maintenance of his unfortunate son-in-law in the possession of his hereditary dominions by the intervention of Spain, where Philip IV., a minor, had just ascended the throne; and, secondly, the dowry of two million ducats. He entirely overlooked that it involved the granting to the Spanish princess the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion, a step the more hazardous in an age which was still so far removed from the principle of toleration, that each party conscientiously believed that the other was liable to eternal damnation. The compulsory education of the children of Popish recusants in Protestant seminaries was justified in parliament, on the ground that they would die Protestants. Even James himself, by his rigorous treatment of the popish recusants, who assuredly did not seek worldly advantages, had given the worst example. That such penalties must cease, at least in fact if not in law, was the condition, *sine qua non*, of the Spanish court; yet James consented, and thought of nothing but the Spanish marriage. If he happened at any time to speak of his knightly prowess, he took pleasure in relating how bold he had been in effecting his own marriage thirty years before. For his Danish bride, being driven by a storm to the coast of Norway, where she was detained, he undertook the voyage in the dismal month of November, found Anne in Opslo, married her, and passed the winter in Norway. Ought his son Charles to be a less ardent wooer?

On the 7th of May, 1623, two strangers, plainly attired, and travelling by the name of Smith, alighted, late in the evening, at the residence of the Earl of Bristol, the English ambassador at Madrid; they were the Prince of Wales and Buckingham. This wild scheme had been concerted by them and King James, and was conducted with profound secrecy. Nothing could be more honourable than the reception given to the Prince of Wales at the Spanish court — only one generation after the destruction of the Armada. The young king gave Prince Charles precedence, and even presented him with two golden keys, which enabled him at all times to have free access to the royal apartments. James was delighted, and immediately conferred on Buckingham the title of duke. In one of his letters he says: "The news of your splendid reception makes me fear that neither of you will recognise your old papa again." James was indulging in pleasing dreams, and when he at length awoke, he could scarcely understand what had passed. The affairs of Spain were in the hands of Count Olivarez, who knew full well that the Spanish nation was averse to the marriage, and would not be induced to change their opinion, unless that, by such a proceeding, the Roman Catholic religion might again plant its standard in England. By his persevering exertions a public convention was effected, and articles drawn up of the following tenor: — That the marriage should be solemnised in Spain, and afterwards ratified in England; that the children should be under the care of their mother till the age of ten years; and that the infanta and her household should have, for the free exercise of their religion, a church and a chapel, with an attendance of Spanish priests. James and his council swore to observe this treaty, 1623.

in the chapel royal of Westminster. He, at the same time, solemnly agreed to several secret articles, by which he stipulated that the penal laws against the Roman Catholics should not be enforced; that the domestic exercise of that religion should henceforth be tolerated; that the infanta should not be induced to abandon the religion of her ancestors; and lastly, that the king should endeavour to obtain from parliament the repeal of the penal laws against popish recusants. These articles James privately swore to observe, in the house of the Spanish ambassador, in the presence of four witnesses; but he at the same time whispered to one of them that he could very safely swear to the article relating to the parliament, because he knew that he could not carry that point. The careless Buckingham would readily have gone much further, and even agreed to recognise the spiritual authority of the pope. In fact, James himself, in one of his previous writings, had given it as his opinion, that a pope might be regarded as the highest bishop, to whom all appeals of the clergy might be referred as a last resort. But when this concession was suggested, James replied, that he was no Monsieur, who could change his religion as easily as he did his shirt, when he came in from the tennis court. Olivarez however entertained hopes from what had been already yielded, that further concessions would be made. At all events, he desired to feel assured that the promises made should be really fulfilled; and therefore proposed that the infanta's marriage should be concluded, but that she should for the present remain in Spain. Suddenly, however, Buckingham's views respecting the alliance were completely changed.

He had rendered himself odious to the Spanish court by his dissolute life, and his unbecoming familiarity with the prince, and had, besides, quarelled with Olivarez; he therefore considered his fall as certain, if Charles should marry the infanta. From that moment he began to urge Charles to return home, and prejudiced him against the alliance, hoping that his departure and procrastination might lead to the breaking off of the negotiations. The prince and Buckingham accordingly took their leave, with every outward demonstration of friendship. The infanta now assumed the title of Princess of Wales; soon after the prince's departure the papal dispensation arrived, the day of the espousals was determined, and the solemnisation of the marriage by proxy fixed for the 9th of December. A splendid platform was erected between the palace and the church, the grandees were summoned to attend, when Bristol suddenly received orders to notify to the King of Spain, that before he could deliver the proxy, or conclude the marriage, Philip should engage to take up arms for the Elector Palatine, if the friendly mediation which he had commenced should not succeed by a certain day. Philip replied, that after every thing had been signed and sworn to, such a demand was an insult to him and his sister. Thus, by the all-powerful intervention of Buckingham, terminated the proposed alliance with Spain.

But the consequences did not end here. Buckingham could not rest till he had revenged himself on the Spanish cabinet, which certainly did its utmost to procure the disgrace of the detested minion. James, for a time, really felt distrustful of his favourite, and began to listen to the insinuations of

the Spanish ambassador, that Buckingham even went so far as to contemplate his dethronement; but all this had no further effect than to make him lament that he was abandoned in his old age, and that Buckingham, since his return from Spain, was possessed by he knew not how many devils. As soon as the duke discovered from what quarter the storm came, he was saved; for the ambassador, confiding in James's weakness, had asserted much more than he could
1624. prove. The ambassador was accordingly obliged to take his departure, and a war with Spain was resolved on. The Commons readily assented, especially as the king made a kind of apology for the preceding misunderstandings.

The truce between the Netherlands and Spain had just expired. At this juncture the republic looked to England for aid, and they were not disappointed: an army of 6000 men was sent to Holland; while 12,000 English troops were embarked for Germany, to be employed, under Count Mansfeldt, in the service of the Elector Palatine, who had been expelled from his dominions. But it was impossible for any one to be more unhappy than the old and pacific monarch, who found himself thus suddenly involved in a war against his will, judgment, and inclination. His vexation was increased by the receipt of unfavourable news from the theatre of war in Germany. The king derived some comfort from having found in France what he had lost in Spain, a consort for his son Charles—Henrietta of France, sister of Louis XIII. In the same manner as in the Spanish treaty, the free exercise of her religion was guaranteed to Henrietta and her attendants; and the children by this

marriage were to remain under their mother's care till their thirteenth year. With regard to his Roman Catholic subjects, James agreed that they should not, in future, be punished with fines or imprisonment, or hindered in the peaceful domestic exercise of their religion. This concession was adapted to the present exigency; but it was very problematical how James could fulfil it without offending his people. It was, therefore, resolved to keep it secret, but it was sworn to by both the king and prince Charles.

The Duke of Buckingham was making preparations to escort the princess from France, when James was suddenly taken ill. He had always had a great aversion to medicine; but in this extremity the court physicians were called in. When he saw death approaching with rapid strides, his wonted fears and apprehensions vanished, and he died with much resignation in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign. 1625. March 27.

During the reign of the first Stuart, the condition of England at home and abroad presented so striking a contrast with the time of his predecessor, that it was often asked, how it happened that Great Britain was less than Britain.

CHARLES I.

1625—1649.

At the time when Charles ascended the throne, he had become popular in the nation by the breaking off of the Spanish alliance. He had just attained the age of five-and-twenty; his personal appearance was prepossessing, and his deportment calm and dignified—far removed from the low manners and trifling pedantry of his father. Extraordinary abilities were not required in the successor of a monarch like James; but the royal position was far more arduous than in preceding reigns. The people, conscious that they were capable of greater things, felt themselves cramped, deceived, misled, and degraded in the eyes of the world, and were naturally impatient of such humiliation. Religious controversy had quickened the spirit of inquiry; and as mind regards no distinction of rank, the lower classes had become more intellectual and discriminating; hence there was not a man in England who any longer believed that a Stuart, to whom God had given the hereditary crown, must, on that account, be considered the wisest man in the country. A distinction was drawn between the title to power, and the ability to make a wise use of it; and people began to form a lower estimate of secular government. Now, when Charles commenced his reign by introducing into the country Henrietta of France, a popish queen, the warm feelings of his subjects were at once chilled, and they reproached the favourite who had descended, a fatal legacy, from the father to the son, and whose influence had decided the choice. To

these discontents were added the expenses of the war, and a debt of 700,000*l*. Instead of aiding the king with a grant of money adequate to his necessities, the parliament, suspicious of his religious views, petitioned for the enforcement of the legal penalties against the recusants, raised many difficulties on other points, and would not even grant poundage and tonnage for more than one year, though it had been usual, since the time of Henry VI., to vote them for a whole reign. Under these circumstances it would have been important to put an end to the war with Austria, which, on its present footing, could not promise any favourable result; and to settle the disputes with Spain, which would have been the more easy, as war had not yet been declared, nor had any hostilities taken place in the Netherlands. Instead of pursuing this prudent line of conduct, Charles rashly plunged into this new war, by making an attack upon Cadiz, which proved unsuccessful. From that time all applications for grants of money met with a still worse reception. An opposition began to be formed in both houses, grievances were alleged, and the house of commons threatened formally to impeach Buckingham. Charles had reigned a little more than one year, 1626.
and had already dissolved his second parliament; he continued to levy tonnage, as if it had been granted; exacted forced loans; sold one domain after another; and, to crown all, precipitately engaged in a third war. It was generally known that Buckingham was the cause of this; for when he was sent to France, two years before, to fetch Henrietta to England, he had dared to turn his eyes on the young French queen Ann, the elder sister of the Spanish infanta,

whom Charles had sought in marriage. Persuaded by experience that he was irresistible, he fancied that he could read in the looks of the queen that she regarded him with favour, and even ventured on a most offensive declaration of love. Upon this Cardinal Richelieu forbade Buckingham from ever presuming to return to France;—an affront which the latter thought he could revenge by nothing less than war, and he easily prevailed upon the king to enter into his views.

1627. The French government was then on the point of depriving the Huguenots of La Rochelle, their most important stronghold. Buckingham well knew the zeal of the English for the Protestant cause, and hoped to obtain, from their enthusiasm, any grant for a war which should be undertaken to support the distressed Protestants. He had, however, made a false calculation; for public faith was shaken in consequence of an act of duplicity which had been practised the preceding year. At that time the king had sent some men-of-war to France, alleging that they were to be employed, in conjunction with those of France, against the Republic of Genoa, the ally of Spain; but Richelieu sent them to anchor before La Rochelle. The English sailors were filled with wrath, and addressed a remonstrance (a round robin) to Pennington, their commander, in which they protested that rather than fight against their brethren in the faith, they would return to England, and there be hanged for disobedience. This paper they placed in their commodore's Bible. Pennington acknowledged that they were right, and accordingly sailed for the Downs; but they were ordered by Buckingham to return to Dieppe, for the king was absolutely resolved that the squadron

should be placed at the disposal of France. No one, therefore, believed that it was for the support of the Protestants that Buckingham took the command of the fleet, which was to assist the Huguenots in La Rochelle. On this occasion he gave proof of his courage, but yet more of his want of talent. An attack upon the island of Rhé completely failed; two thousand Englishmen were wantonly sacrificed, and Buckingham returned covered with disgrace, but as gay as when he set out, and the king even consoled him with making excuses that he had been left without support. Thus the military glory of England, which had been founded by Queen Elizabeth, was again sacrificed by a war carried on apparently for the Protestant religion, but, in truth, wholly in opposition to its interests. For it was well known that France, which beheld with indignation the new doctrines gaining ground in its own territories, and was resolved, at any price, to get rid of this armed *imperium in imperio*, notwithstanding, readily assisted the German Protestants against Austria. Both the United States of the Netherlands and the king of Denmark, who had been unsuccessful in their support of the Protestant cause in Germany, looked for assistance from France, and suffered severely from the mistakes of the king of England, who was now become an object of dislike and contempt to his subjects. Under such circumstances Charles assembled his third parliament, employed menacing language, alluded to the adoption of other measures if they should not do their duty in contributing to the necessities of the state, and made matters still worse by adding, that they should not take what he had said for threatening, for that he scorned to threaten any but

July.

1628.

his equals. The Commons held out a prospect of subsidy, but at the same time complained of repeated arbitrary imprisonment of members of parliament who had spoken in favour of the rights of the country; they demanded that every Englishman should be secure against arbitrary imprisonments; that in every commitment the cause of the arrest should be notified; and that, without such notification, it should be null and void; and they likewise demanded that no taxes, forced loans, or benevolences should be levied without the consent of parliament. All this was approved by the Upper House; but as the king did not come to any decision for two months, the parliament advanced some steps further. They drew up the celebrated Petition of Right, in which they did not assert a single new claim, but contented themselves with showing what were the ancient recognised rights, with respect to contributions or taxes on property of every kind; and with regard to personal liberty, stated the cases in which these rights had been violated, and demanded reparation. The king at first gave an evasive answer to the petition; but when the Commons asked for a more explicit reply, and again intimated their intention of impeaching the favourite, the king went down to the House, ordered his previous answer to be struck out, and the customary formula of approval to be recorded, in French: "*Soit droit fait come est desiré.*"

The parliament kept its word with regard to the subsidies; but it likewise presented a complaint against the exorbitant power of the favourite, to which it hoped to compel attention, by means of the poundage and tonnage, which was not yet settled, because the king would not allow the application of the Petition

of Right to extend to this subject. Charles, however, prorogued the parliament. A few weeks after this, June. Dr. Lamb, Buckingham's physician, was murdered by a mob in the streets of London. A placard, too, was posted up: "Who rules the kingdom? The king? Who rules the king? The duke. Who rules the duke? The devil. Let the duke look to it, otherwise he will be used worse than his doctor." Buckingham was on the point of proceeding with the fleet to La Rochelle, apparently to continue the war, but in fact to enter into a negotiation with France. He went to Portsmouth to embark on the expedition; but on Sunday, 23d of August, just as he had quitted his apartment to proceed to his carriage, he was stabbed in the breast with a knife, which remained in the wound. The murderer stood still, drew his sword, and cried: "I am the man!" He was a Protestant, named Felton, who had formerly been a lieutenant in the army, but had thrown up his commission in disgust, because he saw another irregularly promoted above him. The last remonstrance of the Lower House had convinced him that Buckingham was the cause of the sufferings of the people, and that his death would be a blessing both to the king and the country; but he declared, before his execution, that he was sensible he had committed a crime. Buckingham was interred in Westminster Abbey among the illustrious dead; but his funeral was private, to prevent any violent outbreak of popular hatred.

Another spirit now animated the people of England. The king desired that Felton should be put to the rack that he might name his accomplices; but the judges pronounced such a proceeding illegal, and he

swore on his salvation that he had none. When the Earl of Dorset, and Laud, then Bishop of London, continued to threaten him with the torture, "So be it," said he; "but then I shall name you both as accomplices." He was hanged in chains, blessed and lamented by the people.

No one succeeded to the influence of Buckingham, unless it were the queen, who had always deeply felt the arrogance of the favourite. Charles, a man of pure morals and genuine piety, was fond of domestic happiness; but Henrietta was not satisfied with his love and fidelity, she desired through him to govern a country which on the whole she did not like; and the most zealous Roman Catholics sought for support in their plans in the apartments of the queen. Otherwise the king took counsel of no one more frequently than of Sir Thomas Wentworth, who had been allured by ambition to leave the ranks of violent opposition in the house of commons, and to enter the king's council; he rapidly rose to the rank of viceroy of Ireland and Earl of Strafford. He was an austere but energetic man; and desirous above all things to strengthen the power of the crown. He wished for unlimited authority, to be employed, however, for the good of the people; but his sovereign took pleasure in venturing, more and more, upon the most dangerous measures.

1629. When the parliament assembled in 1629, it transpired that an impression of the Petition of Right was in circulation, with the first evasive answer of the king. The king's printer being summoned, confessed that he had been ordered to suppress the first impression of 1500 copies, and to print this new edition.

Respect for the crown prevailed, and this disgraceful affair was no further spoken of; but it was not forgotten. The tumult in the Commons on the subject of tonnage and poundage broke out with the greater violence. The House could not be induced to grant the duty for the whole term of the king's reign. The March 2. Speaker, who, by the king's order was to adjourn the House, having delivered this message, rose and left the chair, but was violently pushed back, and held down in his seat by a member named Hollis in spite of his vehement remonstrances, till the House should have drawn up a protest. The king who had hurried to the House of Lords, being informed of what was passing, sent a messenger to bring away the sergeant and his mace, which, according to ancient usage, would put an end to all further debate; but he was stopped at the door, the key taken from him, and the door locked. The king then despatched the usher of the black rod to call up the Commons, that he might dissolve the parliament; but he was refused admission. Charles then sent for the captain of the pensioners and ten guards, and ordered them to force the door. Meantime the Commons had passed a resolution declaring that the levying of the duties of tonnage and poundage was illegal; and that every one who should levy or even pay the duty, was a betrayer of the liberties of England. When the captain arrived, the House was empty. The Commons, after voting their protest, had adjourned in conformity with the royal message, to the 10th of March. On the morning of March 10 that day, the king went to the House of Lords and dissolved the parliament; but the Commons were not summoned. He declared that the disobedient car-

riage of the Lower House was the cause of the dissolution; that he did not impute blame to all the members, but that there were vipers among them whom he should know how to punish; that he had shown that he had no aversion from parliaments; but that henceforth he should regard every admonition on that head, as an act of culpable insolence. Nine members of the House of Commons, among whom was Hollis, the instigator of the late proceedings, were arrested.

Charles was resolved to govern henceforth without a parliament; but to effect this, it was indispensably necessary to have peace. It was not difficult to settle the dispute with France, as La Rochelle had already fallen; and, in the following year, peace was concluded with Spain. Charles was very near entering into an alliance with Philip IV. to subdue the States-General, on condition that he should keep the island of Zealand for himself; but he was obliged to give up all thoughts of venturing upon this step.

1630. Nov. 5.

Prompt measures were now taken to increase the revenues of the crown. Tonnage and poundage continued to be levied, and many duties were augmented. The recusants were taxed for certain sums, which they had to pay every year into the treasury, and, in process of time (1637), the demand was extended to the Irish recusants. The Scottish nobles were obliged to give up a part of the church lands, which were claimed by the crown, and many forests also were adjudged to it. But this was not all. A course was adopted which had originated with King James. That monarch, being alarmed by the incessant epidemics in London, which he attri-

buted to excessive population, would not suffer the capital to be enlarged, and forbade, by an ordinance, the erection of new buildings. But the courts of justice having decided that a law was required to effect this object, the matter rested there, and the city was rapidly extended on all sides. Charles revived the subject, and sent commissioners to summon the proprietors of the new houses; many of them had to pay heavy fines, and their buildings were, moreover, pulled down. One speculator lost forty-two buildings; the majority, therefore, thought themselves happy to escape with a fine and an annual house tax. The king now entered into learned researches to discover antiquated regal rights. During the last French war he had required the seaports and maritime counties to furnish ships of war with their crews. This pretension was by no means suited to the actual system of naval affairs; but the king appealed to ancient custom, and to what had been done for Queen Elizabeth at the time of the Armada. This example was not applicable to the present state of things; at that time, the question was the defence of the country by the exertion of all the resources of the kingdom, and the necessity was submitted to; but now ships of war were demanded in a time of profound peace, and the demand was extended to the whole kingdom, each county being rated at a certain fixed sum, which was to be paid annually, the equipment being left to the king, and, to save appearances, some vessels were really fitted out. The royal revenue was thus augmented by an annual sum of 218,500*l.* This was called ship-money, and the levying of it was justified by reference to the times of the Anglo-

Saxon, and the Danegeld. Lord Strafford wrote triumphantly from Ireland:—"Since the king has the right to levy a tax for the equipment of a fleet, he must have an equal right to raise an army, and the same reasons which authorise him to raise an army to oppose an invasion, will likewise authorise him to employ it abroad in order to prevent an invasion; and, besides this, what is law in England must also be law in Scotland and Ireland. Let the king refrain from war for some years, that his subjects may be accustomed to pay the tax, and he will be more powerful and more honoured than any of his predecessors." John Hampden, a rich landowner in Buckinghamshire thought otherwise: he was a peaceful, unobtrusive man, who preferred listening to the opinions of others rather than force himself into notice; but his simple exterior covered a dauntless and resolute spirit. He refused to pay the paltry sum of twenty shillings at which he was rated; not from a love of opposition, but with equal modesty and earnestness, he appealed to the tribunals to decide. The judges of the Exchequer would rather have been silent; but, in the end, they decided against him by a majority of eight to four; the people, however,
1637. considered Hampden's arguments to be victorious, and his name was re-echoed throughout the country. Men of Hampden's character are at all times rare. Prynne was a man of a totally different stamp; he was deeply imbued with puritanical opinions, and, in his "Histriomastix," a quarto volume of 1000 pages, condemned dancing, masquerades, theatricals, and similar entertainments, especially men's disguising themselves in women's attire, as works of the

devil. It was quite characteristic of him that, when asked whether, in a persecution of the Christians by the heathen, he would not have saved himself in female disguise, he replied, "I would have died first." The king and queen were fond of dancing and masquerades, and the queen herself had performed in a pastoral at Somerset House. The zealous Laud resolved to strain every nerve for the honour of God and of the court, and did not rest till Prynne was brought before the star-chamber as a calumniator of her Majesty. Prynne declared that he did not mean to allude to the king and queen, but it availed him nothing; the court fined him 3000*l.*, ordered him to 1634.
be expelled from the university of Oxford and the society of Lincoln's Inn, and to be degraded from the Bar: to stand twice in the pillory, to lose both his ears, to have his books burnt by the common hangman, and to be imprisoned for life. His ears were cut off; but he caused them to be sewn on again, and they were effectually healed. He was not daunted; and, three years afterwards, he wrote another work, for which a similar sentence was pronounced upon him. During the trial, Lord Finch, the Chief Justice, said, 1637. July.
"I thought that Mr. Prynne had no ears, but it seems to me that he has ears," and an officer in the court was ordered to examine. "My Lords," exclaimed Prynne, "I pray God to give you ears to hear me." During the execution of the sentence, Prynne addressed the crowd, who had assembled in vast numbers, and exhorted them, saying, "Christians, had the question been of our own liberty, we should not be here" (alluding to some who suffered with him, and displayed equal heroism), "it is for

the liberty of all of you that we have hazarded our own. Watch over it, I beseech you; be firm; be faithful to the cause of your God and of your country; otherwise you and your children will be for ever slaves." This address was applauded by the multitude. The union of religious and political liberty was then consecrated in the hearts of the people. If one party took Hampden for a pattern and the other held up the example of Prynne, all were sensible that both stood on the same foundation. Prynne's career was not yet terminated, but several years elapsed during which Charles governed without control.

Laud, now Archbishop of Canterbury, acted on principles identical with those of Strafford, but with greater decision, because he considered himself a combatant in a sacred cause. His motto was "Through and through." He had again filled the English churches with ornaments and images, and thus made
1638. them doubly odious to the Puritans; and, in 1638, he took measures to introduce into Scotland the English liturgy, with some additions of his own, together with a new book of canons. Both were examined and approved by several compliant Scotch bishops, but neither the synods, nor the parliaments of the kingdom, gave their sanction.

July. We have now arrived at an important crisis in the government of Charles Stuart. At the very first celebration of Divine service, according to the new form, on the 23d of July, a tumult broke out in the cathedral of Edinburgh. The women were foremost, and crying out, "The mass has returned, Baal is in the church,"—threw their stools at the clergy, and drove them out

of the church. The Covenant was soon after formed throughout Scotland; and this association demanded the abolition of the episcopacy which had been imposed upon them. Richelieu secretly sent money to their support, and preparations were made for resistance. While none rejoiced more at these events than the Puritans of England, it was impossible for any one to be more deceived in his hopes than Charles, who, having for more than eight years ruled as absolute monarch, in a state of peace, was now called upon to make war, and that upon his own subjects. This war began in 1639, and soon assumed 1639.
such an unfavourable appearance, that the king offered terms of conciliation. But the Covenanters insisted on the immediate removal of the bishops from the parliament. Laud now repeatedly recommended peace, though he had at first rashly kindled the war. He was opposed, however, by the Marquis of Hamilton, the king's commissioner, who declared that the royal dignity called for the punishment of the rebels. Strafford in a letter from Ireland said, "These people must be brought to their senses by whipping." Charles approved the advice of these two counsellors. This decision was equivalent to resolving that, after an interval of eleven years, the parliament of England should be again assembled — and so in fact it proved. The parliament met on the 13th of April, 1640; but the inexpressible rejoicings of the 1640.
people were soon changed into mourning by its sudden dissolution on the 3d of May. This dissolution, without a single measure having been carried, was an unpardonable step; because the parliament had been convoked out of imperious necessity, and every step

taken by it, was precisely what had been anticipated. The king spoke only of the necessary grants of money for the war with Scotland, and proved that the Covenanters had even applied to France for help. The Commons dwelt only upon their complaints of Laud, and of the levy of ship-money, and would not listen to the recommendation of the Upper House to begin by granting the supplies. On this Charles dissolved the parliament, and that at the moment when the Scotch were actively engaged in making preparations for immediate war. They crossed the Tweed and commenced offensive operations, while Charles was still unprepared. They, however, halted on the borders of Yorkshire, as if they were afraid to conquer. In this distress, Charles summoned the House of Lords alone, but that House could not resolve to take upon itself the tremendous responsibility of this crisis. An interval of 400 years lay between the present time and the period when the Upper House alone constituted the parliament. Twelve peers joined in a petition for a parliament composed of both Houses, and their example was followed by 10,000 inhabitants of London. The king was compelled to give way, and a complete parliament was summoned for the
Nov. 3. 3d of November. Oppressed with heavy cares, Charles opened the session without the usual pomp, demanded pay for his army in order to repulse the rebels, and promised to remedy the grievances. The expression rebels, applied to the Scotch army, was universally disapproved; for negotiations with them had already been entered into. Petitions for redress of grievances poured in from all the counties, and John Hampden took his seat in this house, in which

the crown, with its utmost efforts, could depend on only one third of the votes. Simultaneously with Hampden's consistent calmness, men of restless spirit, especially Pym, were at work; but they had a vast task before them, to remove all the rubbish which the Tudors had accumulated, especially their Divine right of kings, and to build again upon the old foundations, on which the charter of the Plantagenets stood. The greatest danger was threatened, though still indeed in the back ground, from those in whom religious and political fanaticism were combined. Why were not men of this caste suffered to emigrate, and to live according to their wishes in the new settlements in North America? Religious and political discontent had indeed led many to adopt this course in the year 1637; among these Pym and Hampden had already embarked in one of the vessels lying in the Thames for this purpose, and had been joined by a gloomy unpolished character, Oliver Cromwell by name, who had sat in the parliament of 1628, without distinguishing himself by any thing, but his zeal against the Papists. An order was unexpectedly issued by the Privy Council, prohibiting such emigrations, on the ground that they were prejudicial to the welfare of the kingdom; and thus these men were compelled to pass the remainder of their lives in England. Among the fanatics of the House of Commons now assembled, Henry Vane is particularly mentioned. In his twentieth year he had undertaken the long voyage to America merely that he might receive the Lord's Supper in New England standing, and not kneeling in the Popish fashion, as observed in his own country. A spirit of fanaticism and discontent prevailed, and

many persons already thought of a republic as the only means for obtaining complete political liberty. The true policy of the crown would now have been to divert the heated minds of men from religious contention, by openly engaging in a course of political amelioration. The co-operation of the Upper House in the legislature must, and might have had the effect of preventing the necessary changes from being too precipitately effected. The king had friends in the Upper House on whom he could depend; for all the bishops, and half of the peers, were indebted for their seats to himself or his father. Prudence, however, required the removal of all those counsellors who might cause the political sincerity of the king to be suspected. Charles unfortunately adopted a course directly contrary. He believed that he could not accomplish his purposes without the energetic counsel of Strafford. Accordingly, "the great apostate," as he was called by the people, was suddenly summoned from Ireland. Strafford clearly perceived the true state of things, and wrote to the king, "I cannot be of any use to your Majesty in parliament; on the contrary, my presence will add to your dangers, and deliver me up to my enemies. Suffer me, therefore, to remain at a distance, either in Ireland, or with the army, as you think fit; there I may still serve you, and be withdrawn from the ruin that threatens me." The king replied, "I cannot dispense with your services here; as true as I am king of England, you will not incur any danger; not a hair of your head shall they touch." Yet the House of Commons had at that very time given an indication of its power. It caused the process against Prynne and four of his fellow sufferers to be revised, annulled the sen-

tence, condemned each of the judges of the Star Chamber to pay 5000*l.*, and obtained their release. They entered London in triumph amidst the unbounded acclamations of the populace, when almost at the same moment it was reported "Strafford is come." He arrived in London on the 9th of November, much indisposed, and on the 11th the House of Commons, with closed doors, resolved, on the motion of Pym, to impeach him. The impetuous character of the earl was well known: the question was of victory or death. Strafford was with the king when he was informed of the resolution of the Commons. He immediately hastened to the Upper House, but Pym had already preceded him with the message from the Commons. Strafford found the doors closed, reprimanded the porter for hesitating to open to him, and stepped boldly through the hall to take his seat, but many voices called on him to withdraw. He started, and retired slowly. About an hour passed, when he was recalled. He was compelled to kneel at the bar, to hear the complaint of the Commons read, and that, at their desire, it was resolved to confine him in the Tower. Archbishop Laud was treated in the same manner. This twofold victory raised the spirit of the Commons. Several obnoxious counsellors of the second class humbled themselves before the House, and others sought refuge in foreign countries. Mary de Medicis, the queen's mother, having been expelled from France by Richelieu, had resided for some time in England. She was an object of suspicion and dislike to the people; and when the question was raised in the House, what was to be done with her, the Commons granted 10,000*l.* for her

Nov. 9.

departure! Her daughter, queen Henrietta, would gladly have accompanied her.

1641. Jan. The House of Commons had now manifestly assumed a share in the government, and in the first month of the new year, it took measures to secure its continuance. It had been decided in 1330, that a parliament should be held every year, but no privilege had fallen into greater disuse than this. It was now proposed that parliament should assemble at least every third year; that if the crown should neglect to summon one, the peers should have power to issue the writs; that, if the peers failed, the sheriffs were to take the necessary steps for the elections; and if they neglected or refused, the people were to proceed to elect their representatives without any writ or summons whatsoever. It was further decided that the parliament should not be prorogued or dissolved till it had sat fifty days, unless with the consent of both Houses. The bill passed the Lords, and the king did not venture to persist in putting his veto upon it; at the same time that he declared his assent, he intimated how painful it was to him that they had touched his crown. "After such concessions," said he, "I no longer see what more you can demand, or I refuse. You have broken the government to pieces, and I may say, almost dissolved it." The resources of the crown were, however by no means exhausted. There were three things on which it could rely for the maintenance of its power. In the first place, it was well known that on the subject of religion, there was a decided want of unity among the leaders in parliament. The Lords, upon the whole, were not inclined to go so far as the Commons, nor were the latter unanimous among themselves. Many

of them demanded the entire abolition of the episcopal dignity; but a smaller party, among whom were Pym and Hampden, looked upon this question in a more statesmanlike manner, and thought that the bishops might remain as superintendents of the affairs of the church, though they would have been well pleased that they should no longer have seats in the Upper House. The majority of the Lords, however, would not hear of any change with respect to the bishops. This support might have been relied on, if a second were combined with it. If men of the opposition party, such as the Earls of Bedford and Essex in the Upper House, Pym, Hampden, and Hollis in the Lower, had been placed among the chief counsellors of the crown, it would have naturally resulted that they would have attached their interest more closely to that of the crown, and thus a breach would have been effected between the ablest statesmen and the most extravagant and ultra party men. Negotiations to this effect were actually commenced; Pym was to be chancellor of the exchequer, Hollis secretary of state, and Hampden tutor to the Prince of Wales. Unfortunately a third resource offered itself. Much discontent prevailed in the English army, because it suffered great privations, and was manifestly neglected, while the utmost attention was paid to the Scotch army. A number of officers of the English army entered into a secret negotiation with the queen; and a *coup de main*, in favour of the king, was spoken of among their troops. Unhappily, but very naturally, this method appeared to Charles the most becoming a king. Scarcely, however, had the existence of such a plan transpired, in consequence of some unguarded

expressions, when the heads of the party immediately fell back into the centre of the movement, resolved on the ruin of Strafford, and at the same time made themselves sure of the Scotch army, so that it should remain on English ground, and support them in their measures. Both these points were accomplished by
Feb. money. A grant of 125,000*l.* was made for its subsistence, and another of 300,000*l.*, under the name of a friendly relief and indemnity.

Strafford was soon after brought to trial. A secret committee of thirteen, headed by Pym, and aided by a small number of the Upper House, had been appointed by the Commons to prepare the charges and investigate the proofs against the earl. Eighty temporal peers sat as judges, the bishops having declined taking a part, on the ground that they were prohibited by the ancient canons to assist in capital trials. Besides the members of the Lower House, commissioners were sent by Scotland; and a committee from the Irish parliament appeared as joint accusers and occupied nine stages of seats along the
March 22. hall. Early in the morning of the 22d of March, and every succeeding day of his protracted trial, Strafford was conveyed from the Tower, accompanied by six barges containing 100 soldiers, and appeared at Westminster Hall at nine o'clock. The king and queen occupied an inclosed cabinet above the seat of the peers; and many ladies of rank were among the spectators in the gallery. Strafford, in his rapid rise to the highest honours, had never met with disappointment. In the days of his prosperity he was considered haughty and arrogant; but in his adversity he displayed humility, courtesy, and a remarkable compo-

sure. Being unassisted by counsel, he defended himself for seventeen days successively, against thirteen different accusers, with magnanimous moderation. He proved that the statute of high treason, of which he was accused, was not applicable to any thing which he had committed; that the doctrine of accumulative treason, set up by his accusers, was an absurdity; because nothing essential could ever be produced by the accumulation of non-essentials. Towards the conclusion he said, "My Lords, these gentlemen at the bar say they speak for the commonwealth, and they believe so; yet, under favour, it is I who in this particular speak for the commonwealth. We live under the egis of the laws; shall we be punished by laws which do not exist? Our forefathers, by express statutes, wisely threw obstacles in the way of the fearful accusation of high treason. Let not our ambition carry us to be more learned than they were in these killing and destructive arts. Great wisdom it will be in your lordships to cast into the fire those bloody and mysterious volumes of arbitrary and constructive treasons, and betake yourselves to the plain letter of the statute which tells you where the crime is, and points out the path by which you may avoid it. Let us not, to our own destruction, awake those sleeping lions, by calling up a mass of old records which have lain for so many ages forgotten and neglected." At the conclusion of this speech, he said, "My lords, I have now troubled your lordships a great deal longer than I should have done. Were it not for the interest of these dear pledges, which a saint in heaven hath left me, I should be loth ——" Here he pointed to his children, and wept. "What

I forfeit for myself, is nothing," said he; "but that my indiscretion should extend to my posterity, woundeth me to the very soul."

The speech of Strafford made a deep impression even on his accusers. It had long been evident that the peers would not condemn him as guilty of high treason; but the Commons were resolved not to let their victim escape. Referring to the article on high treason in Blackstone's Commentaries, we find that that crime always includes an offence against the king, whether in his person or his family, or by resistance to his will. The laws of England know nothing of treason against the country. On the motion of Arthur Hazlerig, the House resolved, in the very first stage of the trial, to adopt a different course, to leave the judicial mode of proceeding, and to ruin the man whom they detested, by an act of supreme legislation. The house passed a bill of attainder against him; that is, it declared, without regard to the existing laws, that this individual man was proved guilty of an attempt to subvert the liberties of the kingdom. Similar instances had occurred under Henry VIII.; but they had always been considered as acts of despotism, and it was peculiarly unbecoming in the advocates of liberty to plant its standard on the ruins of the legal security of person. After Strafford's defence, the bill was read a second and third time, and passed. Only fifty-nine members of the House of Commons had the courage to vote against it; and their names were posted up, on the following day, under the title of Straffordians and betrayers of their country.

The whole state of the case was hereby changed.

In the first instance the Lower House had made the impeachment, leaving the decision to the Upper House, independently of which, according to the existing laws, the king had the right of pardon; but now the Lower House had pronounced the verdict of guilty, and the Lords and the king felt that they were too powerless to resist a body which had the whole nation on its side. The agitation in the metropolis became every day more loud and threatening. The Lords, unwilling to decide, consulted the judges, who unanimously declared that the crime of Strafford really constituted high treason. Upon this thirty-four peers withdrew; the remainder passed the bill sent up from the Commons by a majority of twenty-four to nineteen. A deputation from both houses immediately waited on the king to request his sanction to the bill. Strafford wrote to the king, entreating him to give his assent, and not to delay the reconciliation of the sovereign with his people. He, for his part, entirely acquitted the king's conscience. "To a willing man," he said, "there is no injury." Yet he appears to have reckoned on the noble feelings of Charles; for, when the king sent him word that he had given his consent, he raised his hands to heaven, and exclaimed, "*Put not your trust in princes, nor in the sons of men, for in them there is no salvation.*" He died on the scaffold on the 11th of May, in the 49th year of his age. May 11

The queen henceforth entertained thoughts of seeking personal safety in her own country. The king, too, longed to revisit the land of his birth; and formed a plan to go to Scotland, and there, by concessions in the affairs of Church and State, to strengthen the

tottering foundations of his throne. The English and Scotch armies had just been disbanded, after means had with difficulty been found to satisfy them, when the king, passing through their camp, came to Edin-
Aug. burgh. Charles did not neglect this opportunity to gain the officers; promised the Scotch a parliament every three years, and conferred various offices and favours. He patiently attended the long discourses of the Presbyterians, and joined in their worship. Everything appeared to be going on favourably, when it suddenly became evident that their sovereign was silently collecting documents, which he intended to employ for the ruin of his enemies in both kingdoms. Had the correspondence between the leaders of the English House of Commons and the Covenanters (which eventually led to the incursion of the Scotch into England) been laid before the tribunals in both kingdoms, their condemnation for high treason would have been inevitable. The Commons now reaped the fruit of their foresight. They had adjourned on account of the absence of the king; and a committee of both Houses had been appointed to sit during the recess, with ample powers. Another committee of both Houses attended the king into Scotland; of this Hampden was chairman. He wrote to Pym, who was at the head of the London committee, that a dangerous plot had been discovered; that the king had intended to arrest their friends the earls of Hamilton and Argyle, in order to learn the secret of the correspondence, but that the whole had been found out in time to prevent the attempt from being made. The king, the better to cover his design, had created Hamilton a duke and Argyle a marquis.

The leaders of the movement in both kingdoms now pretended that Charles contemplated their ruin, and the majority were but too ready to resort to any measure in self-defence. The latest intelligence from Ireland offered them but too plausible a pretext. There was no longer a Strafford at the head of the executive, governing with rigorous, impartial justice: and the rage of the Roman Catholics against their Puritanic oppressors suddenly broke out in a fearful massacre. The plot had long been preparing in secret; and the explosion spread consternation throughout England. Whether the number of the massacred Protestants was 50,000 or 40,000, or even much smaller, the English parliament spoke of 200,000. Some members, in secret discussions, implicated the king, whose hatred of the Puritans was notorious; and others spoke of the queen, who was a zealous Papist, as the real instigator. Both were innocent of the massacre; but the Irish pretended the contrary. When the king returned to his palace at Whitehall on the 25th of November, he had passed an important portion of his life. A man of business, on his return home, is wont to reckon the expenses and profits of his journey, and then to strike the balance. Had the king done so on this occasion, he would have found only losses; but probably he did nothing of the kind. He still regarded himself as a monarch generally beloved: on his journey he had every where been saluted with rejoicings and congratulations, especially at York; and even in the metropolis he met with a splendid reception. But a detailed list of grievances, presented by certain grave-looking members of the Lower House, accorded but ill with these illusions.

The fearful truth respecting the state of affairs came to light at the close of this year, when the House of Commons begun to deliberate on the bill, by which the administration of the army and the appointment of its commanders were to depend on the assent of the parliament. This state of things induced many Englishmen of rank to leave their estates in the country, and flock to London, to protect their sovereign. They, and all who took part with them, were nicknamed Cavaliers; and in return they called their opponents—with whom they frequently came to blows in the streets—Roundheads, from their hair being closely cropped. The latter at first rejected the appellation; but they became reconciled to it, and the name and the formal cut of the hair soon passed for the distinguishing mark of the godly. During the king's absence the House of Commons had appointed a guard for its safety; and, when he removed it, the commons gave permission to each member to bring an armed servant, who was to remain in attendance at the door of the house. Both parties entered upon the
1642. new year with the presentiment that their differences would have to be decided by arms.

Jan. 3. On the 3d of January it was manifest that the king intended to pursue in England the course which had proved so great a failure in Scotland. He sent the attorney-general to the House of Peers to accuse Lord Kimbolton and five members of the lower house of high treason; these were Hampden, Pym, Hollis, Hazlerig, and Strode. The sergeant-at-arms then entered the Lower House, and demanded the surrender of these five members; but the Speaker commanded
Jan. 4. him to retire. On the following day the king himself

came to the house, attended by his ordinary retinue of about 200 armed men. He, however, entered the house alone, with his hat in his hand, accompanied only by his nephew Prince Rupert, the German count palatine. All the members rose. His majesty, taking the Speaker's chair, expostulated with the House for their non-compliance with his orders. "Since I see," he added, "all the birds are flown (for the threatened members had hastily retired), I do expect that you will send them to me as soon as they return, otherwise I shall know how to find them." But the day passed over, and the Commons did not send the members, nor did the king cause search to be made for them, although their retreat was well known. The next morning the king proceeded in person to the Guildhall, and demanded of the common council the surrender of the members. Instead of a compliance, he learned that the armed citizens of London would in a few days conduct the five members in triumph to Westminster; that the procession would be joined by 4000 horsemen from Buckinghamshire, who would come in honour of the great Hampden their representative; and that a couple of thousand sailors would accompany the heroes of the day up the Thames. "What!" exclaimed Charles; "do these water-rats also abandon me!" To avoid the hateful sight he left London, and in the evening proceeded to Hampton Court, and soon afterwards to Windsor Castle. He never returned to Whitehall till he mounted the scaffold. Jan. 10. 12.

This noisy triumph on the Thames was to celebrate the victory which the Commons had gained over the king. The Lords now no longer refused to exclude

the bishops from the Upper House, on which the Commons had insisted during the last three months.

The distracted state of the nation seemed to forebode evil, and the queen availed herself of the pretext of accompanying her daughter Mary, who was betrothed to the young Prince of Orange, to repair
Feb. 5. to Holland, in order to avoid the public animosity, and to obtain assistance on the Continent for the war, for which the cavaliers were preparing. In fact, by the late proceedings of the king all possibility of an amicable settlement had vanished. Yet so singular was the turn that matters had taken, that Charles, who individually was the most to blame, both for his errors and his faults, was henceforth, by virtue of his royal prerogatives, more in the right than his adversaries. When required by the Parliament to place the army and the fortresses at their disposal for some years, the king answered, "No, by God, not for an hour," was he not contending for a right, the renunciation of which would be equivalent to the loss of the crown? On the other hand, the Parliament could not desist from its demand lest it should put arms into the hands of its enemies, expose itself to the vengeance of the king and his cavaliers, and sacrifice all the liberties which it had recovered. It had now assumed a position which necessarily involved the possession of all the rights of government to prevent its own overthrow; the command of the army and the entire power of legislation, without reference to the royal consent. The Parliament in attempting to save the constitution of the kingdom, had stifled it in its embrace. It could not venture to leave to the king, whom it justly mistrusted, even the

rights that appertained to him. When he complained to his people of this long parliament, he had all the ancient statutes, all the usages of the past, on his side; he no longer exercised the powers of government, and he was therefore in the right when he complained of the violation of the constitution. The parliament was now a despot. Two upright and able statesmen, who sat in the king's council, and supported him to the utmost of their power, though they seriously disapproved of his proceedings, advocated his cause in eloquent memorials which were circulated throughout England. These were Edward Hyde and Lord Falkland. The royal party accordingly gained strength. "King Pym" was held up to public ridicule. Two-and-forty peers, and more than sixty members of the House of Commons gradually joined the king, who had fixed his residence in the city of York. This was the centre of his armed force; here the cavaliers daily recommended the use of arms to avenge insulted majesty; while those members of parliament who had gathered round him, strongly advised him to act in conformity with the laws, that the wrong might rest with the parliament at Westminster.

The parliament was not weakened by the separation of its discordant elements, but, on the contrary, became more united in itself. While the king and his friends at York were in the greatest pecuniary difficulties, so that the royal table could scarcely be supplied, the parliament, on its first application, received immense quantities of silver plate; even the wedding rings and trinkets of the women were given up to support "the good cause." The parliament declared its ultimatum: it required the total aboli- June 17.

tion of the ancient royal prerogatives ; arrogated to itself the decision of all religious, civil, and military affairs ; the nomination of new peers ; the appointment and removal of the higher officers of state ; and even the power of controlling the education and marriage of the king's children. The king, in reply to the commissioners of the two Houses who presented these propositions, coloured deeply, and said, "Should I grant these demands, I may be waited on bareheaded, I may have my hand kissed, the title of majesty be continued to me, and *the king's authority signified by both Houses*, may still be the style of your commands, I may have swords and maces carried before me, and please myself with the sight of a crown and sceptre (though even these twigs would not long flourish, when the stock upon which they grew was dead), but as to true and real powers, I should remain but the outside, but the picture, but the sign of a king." Such was the end of this negotiation.

The uncontrollable torrent of events had already broken down the barriers of human counsel; the moment was come "in which the most determined minds, incapable of distinguishing good and evil, danger and salvation, are but instruments in the hand of Providence, which alternately chastises kings by their people, and the people by their kings." (Guizot.) Yet it gladdens the heart to hear the voice of an upright man, a friend to liberty, who, with some remains of melancholy hope for the preservation of what is good upon earth, was determined, above all
July 9. things, to save his conscience. On the decisive 9th of July, Sir Benjamin Rudyard said in the House of Commons, "Mr. Speaker, I am deeply sensible of

what the honour of parliament requires; but to form a right judgment of our present situation, we must go back to this time three years. Had we then been told, that in three years the queen would fly from England to the Netherlands, that the king would go to York, on the pleas that his person was not safe in London, that all Ireland would raise the standard of rebellion, and church and state be a prey to the disorders under which they are now suffering, the bare thought would have filled our souls with horror. Had we been told, on the other hand, that in three years we should have a parliament, that ship-money, monopolies, the High Court of Commission, the Star Chamber, the right of the bishops to a seat in parliament would be abolished, that the jurisdiction of the Privy Council would be abridged, that we should have triennial parliaments,—what do I say?— that we should have a parliament which no one but ourselves would have power to dissolve,—we should surely have looked upon all this as a pleasant dream. But now we possess all this, and yet do not enjoy it; we persist in requiring new securities. The actual possession of these advantages is the best security; they reciprocally guarantee each other. Let us beware of endangering what we already possess by seeking for a vain security: all human guarantees are uncertain and deceitful. Divine Providence will not be restricted; it will keep the results in its own power. Mr. Speaker, we have before us fire and desolation. When blood once mingles with blood we rush into certain danger, for the sake of uncertain good. Bloodshed is a crime which cries for vengeance; it defiles a land. We will save our liberties and our property,

but we will not risk the loss of our souls. I have discharged my conscience of the burden that oppressed it, and leave every one to follow the dictates of his own." Rudyard spoke in vain; matters had become so complicated that it seemed impossible to follow his advice.

The parliament had 20 regiments, of 1000 men each, 95 squadrons of cavalry, each comprised of 60 men, of whom the Earl of Essex was appointed commander. He was an honest supporter of the popular cause, and well versed in the art of war. He sat on the Committee of Safety, which consisted of five members of the upper house and ten of the lower, and to which was confided the public defence and the execution of the orders of parliament. Hampden, Pym, Cromwell, and Hollis likewise held high commands in the parliamentary army, which soon amounted to a large number, composed chiefly of recruits. The king, with all the pecuniary aid which the queen obtained, could muster only 12,000 men, not half the number of the enemy's forces; but they had the advantage of being better disciplined, a larger proportion having already served in the army. Charles entrusted the chief command to his impetuous nephew, Rupert, the second son of his sister, and the unfor-
Oct. 23. tunate Elector Frederic. In the first engagement at Edge Hill, when the king appeared on the field in full armour, both parties claimed the victory; but Hampden's regiment prevented Rupert from obtaining a decisive advantage. A few days after, the king took Banbury, and proceeded to Oxford, the only town wholly devoted to him. Advancing with his army towards London, Charles marched to Reading, which

submitted, and from thence to Colnbrook, where a deputation from the Commons presented a petition for an accommodation. But while the negociation was still pending, the king surprised Hollis's regiment at Brentford, by which the parliamentary forces sustained a great loss; but the defeat only increased the zeal of the volunteers. Two days after the discomfiture at Brentford, Essex was at the head of 24,000 men. The king was obliged to retire to Oxford, where he took up his winter quarters. Hostilities seemed for a while suspended, and only a few slight skirmishes occurred during that season. Nov. 12.

When the approach of spring incited to fresh activity, Sir Benjamin Rudyard once more protested against civil war, and pointed to the horrors under which Germany had been suffering for nearly thirty years. This time his motion was defeated by a majority of only three, which gave occasion to the renewal of negociations, but each party still persisted in its former demands. The queen, too, swayed sometimes by fear, sometimes by presumption, vehemently urged the employment of the military stores which she had herself brought from the Netherlands. As the king still refused to come to London, and demanded the meeting of a parliament at the distance of at least twenty miles from the metropolis, the Earl of Northumberland, the parliamentary commissioner, was recalled. 1643. Feb. 17.

Hampden had, from the very beginning, differed from the Earl of Essex respecting the plan for carrying on the war. Hampden wished to terminate the contest at once by a rapid march against Oxford, but Essex was dilatory; he was very far from being unfaithful

to his trust, but he would not confide in his undisciplined troops, and perhaps looked beyond the day of triumph. For in the event of a victory what was to become of the King and the House of Lords? Many persons wished to place the bold and upright Hampden, who was ready to make any sacrifice in the cause, in the room of Essex; others thought of the young Sir Thomas, afterwards Lord Fairfax, who possessed brilliant military talent, and was a man of frank, polished, and dignified manners; while a third party was convinced that the only capable leader was Oliver Cromwell. Cromwell, who was a cousin of Hampden's, was still of little note in the House of Commons; but his vigilance and penetration rendered him very useful. Thus, on one occasion, when the University of Cambridge, for which city he was member, was about to follow the example of the University of Oxford, and send its plate to the king, Cromwell got scent of it, and defeated this loyal intention. Complaints having been made that the cavalry of the parliament was greatly inferior to that of the king, Cromwell exclaimed to Hampden, "That is quite natural; the horsemen on the other side are the sons of noblemen, or of persons of good family; yours are old feeble men, of low condition, ruined innkeepers, and servants. I will provide you with some of my godly men, who shall excel the noblemen." He knew the fanatics in the country to whom he could say plainly, "You fight for the cause of God,—not, as people say, for king and parliament: these are merely our pretext. If you cannot fire your pistol at the king, as well as at any other person, you are not fit for my service." In this manner Cromwell introduced an element altogether

new into the army. In a short time he had assembled fourteen squadrons, that is to say, about a thousand horsemen,—austere, gloomy men, for whom no discipline was too severe, no hardships too great, and who deemed no obstacles, presented by the forms of civil society, insurmountable; professing that they were willing to undergo all for the sake of God.

The extinction of a star of the first magnitude tended also to open the way for Cromwell. Hampden was severely wounded in a cavalry skirmish near Oxford: he was observed to ride slowly from the field June 19. before the engagement was finished, his head bowed down, and his hands resting upon the neck of his horse. When the king received the intelligence he sent for the Rev. Dr. Giles, who happened to be in Oxford, and who was on terms of friendship with Hampden. Charles desired the Doctor to make inquiries respecting the wounded man, and to acquaint him that the king would be happy to send him his own surgeon. He who had occasioned so much mischief might likewise be able to do much good; and the king entertained hopes that he might serve as a mediator. "Sire," replied the doctor, "I am not at all qualified for such a message; for as often as I have had any business with John Hampden I have been a bird of ill omen to him. I once requested him to send persons in pursuit of some robbers who had broken into my house, and at the same time with my message he received intelligence of the death of his eldest son. At another time that I applied to him, he learnt at the same moment that his beloved daughter was dead." The doctor, notwithstanding, undertook to convey the message; but he delayed:

Hampden was dying when it reached him;—two bullets had broken his shoulder-blade. He lingered six days in excruciating pain. When he learned who had inquired after him, and for what ultimate object, he was violently agitated, and attempted to speak, but
June 24. could not, and died immediately after. The sorrowing people called him the father of the country; and even his enemies confessed that there had never been a man in England who, by his strength of mind, and the spotless integrity of his disinterested character, had such a command over the wills of others, whether in peace or in the field. By his death the last hope of an amicable arrangement was dispelled.

After this loss, the parliamentary army having experienced a series of reverses, Essex recommended peace, and the Lords agreed with him, but the Commons vehemently opposed the proposition. As the great seal was in the hands of the king, the Commons had a new one made, on which were the arms of England and Ireland; and only the lower house was represented. But when the king, with inconsiderate haughtiness, declared the members of both houses traitors, the Lords were reconciled to the Commons. Scarcely, however, had he retracted his imprudent declaration, when the parties returned to their true position. The majority of the Lords longed to be with the king, or at least removed from this scene of dangerous activity, which had been forced upon them. There were days on which only ten peers were present at the sitting; and on the 5th of October there were only five. Many were afterwards induced to appear from a sense of shame, because their names were called over at the beginning of every sitting. While the

upper house was thus decreasing in numbers, a serious change appeared in the constitution of the lower house, where the Independents were preparing to get the upper hand of the Presbyterians. Extreme questions were more and more frequently heard, such as, "Of what use are the clergy? the Lord can give the Holy Spirit to every believer." This demand for equality, when applied to civil government, at once cut off the crown and the nobility. Many spoke of the Christian equality of rights, while others openly broached the seductive doctrine of a general equality of property.

The second year of the civil war was drawing to its close, when Charles, after long hesitation, resolved to meet the increasing pressure of the times by a bold measure. One point in his position had hitherto been grateful to him: though the portion of England in which he was recognised as king was so limited, yet in that portion he reigned without control. But this very circumstance gave offence to the more judicious of his advisers, who, while they sincerely wished to maintain the power of the crown, desired it to be circumscribed within legal limits, as defined in the Petition of Right. These men, therefore, did not suffer the slender thread to be broken which connected the king with the parliament at Westminster; and they even found means to reunite it when it had been severed. It was their conviction that the rebellious parliament at Westminster could be displaced only by a new one. The king began to be sensible of the necessity of such a measure, for the parliamentary army had lately proved increasingly successful. The Earl of Essex had raised the siege of Gloucester, and gained a battle at Newbury. The king further Sept.

received the intelligence that the English parliament had formed an alliance with Scotland, both political and religious, and that 21,000 Scotch troops would take part in the next campaign. Charles therefore
Dec. 22. yielded to the advice of his friends, and about Christmas summoned those members of both houses who had joined him, to meet in parliament at Oxford.

At the opening of the session, on the 12th of
1644. January, 45 peers and 118 commoners assembled at Oxford; but this assembly had no confidence in itself, and met, therefore, with less confidence from the country. On the same day, there were only 22 peers in the parliament at Westminster, but no fewer than 280 commoners present, besides 100 members named as absent on the public service. The House at Westminster, nothing intimidated, proceeded in the same course as heretofore; and the attempt of the members at Oxford to enter into a negociation proved a failure. As for the king, he seemed to think only of himself: in the circle of his cavaliers, he called his parliament cowardly when it distrusted itself, and mutinous when it attempted to put limits to his will; hence he was not a little pleased to prorogue it on the 16th of April.

The long parliament this year maintained 30,000 men, divided into five armies, including the Scotch. The expense was defrayed partly by the state and partly by contributions from the counties. The directing committee was composed of 7 peers, 40 commoners, and 4 Scotch commissioners. Important
July 2. events occurred in the field. In a battle at Marston Moor, near York, the right wing of both armies was defeated. Prince Rupert lost the day by his war-

like ardour, untempered with prudence. Cromwell's squadron decided the fate of the battle. The royal army suffered great loss in killed and wounded, with all its artillery, ammunition, and baggage, and about one hundred colours and standards. The immediate result of this engagement was the fall of the city of York, but it was far from deciding the fate of the war. It was counterbalanced by the reverses experienced soon afterwards by the Earl of Essex in Cornwall, which ended with the capitulation of his army, on condition of being allowed to retreat unmolested without arms and baggage. Essex himself with difficulty escaped by sea, but he never recovered the blow which his reputation as a general had sustained. Cromwell, with ambitious perfidy, endeavoured to make the Earl of Manchester (who was the real victor at Marston Moor, and under whom he had served as lieutenant-general) suspected by the House of Commons. Thus Cromwell reaped for himself and his party all the laurels of this battle, for it was at the same time a victory of the Independents over the Presbyterians, particularly the Scotch, as it was their wing which was beaten by the Royalists. The Presbyterians, however, still composed the majority of the lower house; and it was evident that their inclination for peace increased in proportion as the Independents obtained a greater share in the direction of the war. This was the state of affairs at the close of 1644. Pym had been dead more than a twelvemonth; he fell a victim to his restless activity, and was followed to the grave by the House of Commons in a body. In these days of general excitement only a momentary sensation was caused by the fate

Sept. 1.

of the venerable Archbishop Laud. He had been imprisoned in the Tower ever since the end of 1640: he was now ill, helpless, and almost forgotten. But the House of Commons ordered the proceedings against him to be resumed; they were conducted with puritanical severity, under the direction of Prynne, who had been twice the victim of Laud's persecuting spirit: and the venerable archbishop was
1645. brought to the scaffold on the 3d of January 1645.

This fresh act of bloodshed, and several similar condemnations, held out but faint hopes of the success of the negociations for peace which were resumed about the same time. Forty commissioners of the two kingdoms, among whom were seventeen of the royalist party, assembled at Uxbridge to carry on these transactions. They laboured, during the usual cessation of arms in the winter, throughout the whole
Feb. 22. of January to the middle of February, when they broke up, without having accomplished any thing; all their efforts being baffled by the exorbitant demands of the Commons,—such as the abolition of the episcopacy, and the transferring to the parliament the command of the forces, both by land and sea.

The Independents availed themselves of the absence of the leaders of the Presbyterian party at Uxbridge to introduce more energy and unity into the conduct of the war. They carried a resolution, that henceforward there should be only one army, and that the command should be given to Sir Thomas Fairfax. It followed, as a matter of course, that the Earls of Essex and Manchester retired; and so far there would have been no necessity for the additional resolution, that in future "no member of either

House should hold a civil office, or a command in the army." This was called the Self-denying Ordinance; and in conformity with it Lieutenant-General Cromwell gave up his command: and he appeared to have been actuated by the greatest disinterestedness, as it was well known that he himself had zealously advocated this ordinance. He openly declared that he was going to Fairfax merely for the purpose of kissing the general's hand on taking leave; but just before this *congé* it happened that hostilities were resumed, and Cromwell, therefore, willingly served again with the cavalry. Wherever he appeared with his Ironsides the cavaliers fled and dispersed; and Fairfax wrote to London that he could not do without him, and that he, and no other, should command the cavalry. The House of Commons took on itself to allow that he should remain another fortnight with the army. The battle of Naseby, near Northampton, caused this permission to be prolonged for three months. The furious onslaught of Prince Rupert seemed at the first to promise success to the royal arms; but his rashness as usual carried him too far, and the battle was lost. Cromwell shared the honour with his commander-in-chief; and many even attributed more than half the credit to his intrepidity and coolness. Charles was present at this battle, and all parties were unanimous in commending his personal bravery to the last moment: he would probably have met his death on the field of battle had he been permitted to follow his own inclinations. But this transient gleam of favourable opinion passed away, when the conquerors found among the booty his Majesty's private cabinet of papers and letters. These were the means of sealing his doom; for the par-

End of April.

June 14.

liament afforded an opportunity to all to convince themselves that the king had applied to foreign princes for military aid against his subjects, notwithstanding his repeated assurances to the contrary; that he had pronounced a formal protest against the very name "parliament" (which he had again given to both Houses, in the late negociations), and even caused this protest to be entered on the journals of the Council of State. These letters were printed by order of the parliament, under the title of "The King's Cabinet opened." The king's reputation sustained irreparable injury from this publication, as such a selection was made as represented his conduct in the most odious light.

With the prolongation of the civil war the nation lost that charitable spirit which at its commencement always evinced that the contending parties had not forgotten that they were fellow countrymen, and that they mutually appreciated an unspotted character and honourable conduct. But now began the cruel confiscations and sales of estates, without regard to the fate of the families of the so-called state criminals. The soldiers were forbidden in future to give quarter to any Irish in the royal army: hundreds of these miserable men were tied back to back, and either shot or thrown into the sea. Fairfax, who did not sanction such barbarities, sent his prisoners to the parliament, with a message, that he had not time to inquire whether there was an Irishman among them. On the field of Naseby the corpses of no less than a hundred women were found among the slain. Every thing assumed a gloomy aspect. The hopes of Charles had fled from the soil of England, and fluctuated between Scotland and Ireland. In

Scotland the Marquis of Montrose raised the royal standard, and for a time with such splendid success, that victory followed upon victory, when a single defeat annihilated the fruits of all his triumphs. To the Irish, Charles had privately conceded every thing they desired, even the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion, provided they would again take up arms in his favour. But as soon as this transpired, Charles and his lord-lieutenant, apprehensive of a combination of all parties in England and Scotland against the crown, denied all the concessions which they had made. How desperate was the state of the king's affairs, appears from the fact that he empowered his eldest son, Charles, to act as mediator between the crown and the parliament. The Prince of Wales had long borne the title of Commander-in-Chief, though Prince Rupert performed the duties of the office; but after his disgrace, and dismissal from England, the Prince of Wales assumed the command of the royal army, which at that time had been reduced to only a remnant of undisciplined troops. The prince communicated to the parliament that the king was ready to come in person to London to begin the negociations, but it did not even condescend to make a reply.

The first quarter of the new year passed away in repeated offers on the part of the king. The deeply-humbled monarch declared himself ready to transfer to the parliament for seven years the command of the army, and the appointment of the highest offices of state, to disband his troops, to raze his fortresses, and to reside in Whitehall, if the parliament would guarantee to him the honour and safety of the 1646.

persons and property of the royal family. The only answer returned by the House was, an order that if the king passed the line occupied by the parliamentary troops the officer on duty should arrest his attendants, and permit none to approach the king's person. All the Roman Catholics, and those who had borne arms for the king, were ordered to leave the metropolis within three days.

Charles now stood between England and Scotland, like Lear of old between his hard-hearted daughters Regan and Gonneril. He was on the point of being shut up in Oxford: a colonel, to whom he offered to surrender, on condition of being conducted to London, refused to undertake the office. He therefore resolved to throw himself into the arms of the Scotch, for the French ambassador held out some hopes that they would receive him as king. At midnight, on the 27th April, the king privately left Oxford on horseback, in the disguise of a servant to his two attendants. They succeeded in reaching the London road. When the king once more surveyed his capital from Harrow-on-the-Hill, conflicting thoughts filled his mind; the affection of the city might still be depended on,—all might yet be risked to save all. But Charles turned
May 5. his horse aside, and after a melancholy journey of nine days, arrived at the Scottish camp before Newark. He was respectfully received; but when he made a trial whether he was still king, and gave the parole, he was interrupted by the Earl of Leven: "I am the older soldier, Sir," said he. "Your Majesty had better leave that office to me." Couriers had already been despatched to both parliaments with this important intelligence.

The bounds within which the royal guest was permitted to move were daily more and more contracted, especially after he had intemperately refused to acknowledge the Presbyterian form of worship. From this time the fate of the king was the subject of active negociations between the two parliaments. It was agreed in London that they would continue to acknowledge Charles as king if he would consent to sign the Covenant, to abolish episcopacy, and to leave the power of the sword for twenty years in the hands of the parliament. Besides this, seventy-one of his adherents were to be excluded from the amnesty; and whoever had borne arms for the king should be incapacitated from holding any public office during the pleasure of parliament. As the king declined giving any positive declaration to these conditions, saying that it was his wish to settle every thing in person with the parliament in London, the whole negociation fell to the ground, and the two parliaments agreed that the Scotch should receive 400,000*l.*, and set out on their return to their own capital in the first month of the new year.

In other words, the king was to be delivered up to the commissioners of the English parliament; and this was, in fact, done, on the payment of the first instalment of 100,000*l.*, and on the receipt of the second the Scotch crossed the frontiers. "I have been bought and sold!" exclaimed the unhappy monarch. Yet, as he journeyed along, it was evident that the traditions of royalty were not yet extinct. Crowds of persons flocked to see the king, to salute him, and even desired him to exercise the hereditary power supposed to be inherent in the

1647. January.

English monarchs, of touching for the King's Evil. Fairfax went to meet the king; he alighted from his horse, and then rode by his side, with every outward demonstration of respect. Holmby Castle in Northamptonshire received the captive grandson of Mary Stuart.

The civil war being now at an end, the parliament determined to disband the army, except such of the men as would engage to serve in Ireland. In order to attain this object, money was required to pay the large arrears due to the army, and to undertake the campaign against Ireland, which could scarcely be any longer delayed. Meantime, Cromwell, by his agents in the camp, stirred up the army to insist in petitions on the payment of their arrears; and it was generally agreed among the troops that they ought not to suffer themselves to be sent to Ireland, and be dispersed in a country which they detested. A union was quickly formed among the officers, and another among the soldiers, which acted in concert, after the model of the houses of Lords and Commons. The parliament became alarmed, despatched some of its members to the camp, together with Cromwell, Ireton, and Fleetwood, to inquire into the causes of this distemper, and to pacify the men, and even resolved to open a fresh treaty with the king. On a sudden Charles was carried off from Holmby Castle, by a body of 500 horse,
June 3. and placed under the protection of the army. Cromwell had been the instigator of this plot, which was carried into execution by a cornet named Joyce. Fairfax was unacquainted with the whole proceeding, but, from his naturally sanguine disposition, he credited Cromwell's assurances that the plan had originated with the army; and he hastened with his staff to the

king, in order to quiet any alarm that might have been excited in his mind. Cromwell and Ireton were present at this interview, but they alone did not kiss their Sovereign's hand. The whole power was now with the army, in which Cromwell had more influence than Fairfax. The king was moved by the army from place to place, till the 16th of August, when he was brought to Hampton Court. When Cromwell appeared in the House, on the 14th of June, and was reproached for what had taken place, he called upon God, and angels, and men, to witness, that Joyce was as unknown to him as the light of the sun to an unborn child. He was also accused of having spoken in offensive terms of the House of Commons; and several witnesses affirmed that he had said "These people will not be quiet, until the army takes them by the ears and turns them out"—"It is not the army that wants purifying, but the House of Commons, and this must be done by the army." Two officers brought a formal accusation against him: but he fell upon his knees, and, bursting into tears, imprecated on himself all the penalties of damnation, if there were in the whole kingdom an individual more devoted to the House than himself; he spoke for two hours, and came off triumphant. On the 16th, Cromwell placed himself at the head of the army, marched to London, and demanded the expulsion of eleven members of the House of Commons (one of whom was Hollis), whom he charged with high treason, as being enemies of the army, and evil counsellors of the parliament. Fairfax, who had become the mere tool of his officers, took up his head quarters at St. Albans. When he advanced to Uxbridge, the House, at the request of the

June 14.

June 16.

June 26. accused members gave them leave of absence for six months.

Cromwell had acted in a most illegal manner, and he felt that he must either rise or fall. At this crisis a ray of light burst on the king from the dark cloud that overshadowed him. The wily Cromwell began to pay his court to him, and assured some of the king's confidants that all the officers were convinced that the general security of life and property depended on His Majesty's restoration to his legal authority; adding "May God measure his favour to me, according to the integrity of my heart towards the king." He proposed conditions to Charles which, as matters then stood, might be accounted reasonable. The time for the limitation of the royal power was to be reduced to ten years, half the term at first proposed; and the other conditions were similarly modified. To Cromwell's great surprise, Charles straightway refused to give his consent; but the cause was soon explained when news was received in the camp, that a rising in the king's favour had taken place in the city of London. The army immediately advanced for the second time towards the metropolis.

July 23. It was high time, for the rioters had already besieged the House of Commons and compelled it to declare that it would recall the king. The Speaker, and more than sixty members of both Houses sought refuge in the camp. The king did not conceal his triumph, for he hoped every thing from the Parliament, after it had been cleared of so many of his enemies; so totally unconscious was he that power had changed

Aug. 6. hands. When he at length became sensible of the truth, and learned that the city had submitted on the approach of the army, that Fairfax had made his entry, that the expelled members had resumed their

seats, and declared all the resolutions passed during their absence to be illegal, he found that little further regard was paid to his tardy concessions. It seems, however, that Cromwell was not insincere when he commenced this negociation. He really doubted whether he should not in this manner escape the peril of his situation, and reap its full advantages. During the negociation the king had offered him the command of the army, an Earldom and the Order of the Garter; and for his son-in-law, Ireton, the Lord Lieutenantcy of Ireland. He likewise gave a very gracious reception to Cromwell's wife and daughter. But could he trust the king? And how was the daily increasing suspicion of the fanatics of liberty to be appeased? During this internal conflict, he was informed by one of his spies, that a letter from Charles to his queen was to be dispatched that day; that the letter was sewed up in a saddle, which a man who knew nothing of the matter was to carry to the Blue Boar Inn, Holborn, where he was to arrive at ten o'clock at night; that the saddle was to be sent to Dover, and thence to France. Cromwell and Ireton, in disguise, immediately mounted their horses. All happened according to the information they had received. They took possession of the saddle, carried it to their room, found the letter, and, after carefully sewing up the seam, returned the saddle to the messenger, saying "all was right." In this letter the king wrote that "his time was come, that he was the man to whose favour all aspired; that he was more inclined to join with the Scotch than with the English army, but that whatever he might concede, the Queen might be quite easy, for instead of honouring the

rascals with a garter, he would take care to provide
Oct. halters for them." Cromwell was now replaced in his old position. Should anything transpire of his having had several interviews with the king, what did it signify? He freely confessed that the vanity of the world had blinded him for a moment: that no confidence could be placed in the king. From that time Charles was not permitted to hold communication with his friends; he was placed under greater restraint, and everything done to make him apprehensive respecting his personal safety. The consequence was, that he privately left Hampton Court in the
Nov. 11. night of the 11th of November, and proceeded to Titchfield, where he could not hope to remain long concealed, and was therefore induced to accompany Hammond, the governor of the Isle of Wight, to Carisbrooke Castle in that island; where, though received with demonstrations of loyalty, he was in fact a prisoner. When the Parliament opened the negociation with him at this place, and proposed four articles, the first of which contained the odious clause, limiting his authority for twenty years, the king seriously thought of concluding an agreement with the Scotch, though he first intended to take refuge on the Continent, for which purpose a ship, sent by the queen,
Dec. 27. was cruising on the coast. But on the evening previous to his projected flight, all the gates of the castle were barred, and the king's friends compelled to depart.

At that time expressions like the following were already heard in Parliament:— "It matters not what form of government we have, if there be neither king
1648. nor devil in it." On the 3rd of January, 1648, it was moved, that henceforth no message from the king should be received, and that the state must be settled

without his co-operation. Cromwell rose and said: "Mr. Speaker, the king is a man of great parts and great understanding, but so great a dissembler, and so false a man, that he is not to be trusted. While he professes, with all solemnity, that he refers himself wholly to the Parliament, and depends only upon their wisdom and counsel, for the settlement and composing of the distraction of the kingdom, he negociates at the same time with the Scottish Commissioners, how he may embroil the nation in a new war, and destroy the Parliament. The hour is come for the Parliament alone, to save and to govern the kingdom." When he sat down he clapt his hand upon his sword. The motion was agreed to, and in a few days assented to by the Lords. This resolution implied an entire change in the constitution of England. The great agitation which arose in the country proved that the people had not intended to proceed to this extreme. The outcry had long since been raised in Scotland, that the misguided army had sold its sovereign for so many pieces of silver. The Scotch Parliament passed threatening resolutions, and approved the employment of an army of 40,000 men against the enemies of royalty. The fermentation in Ireland was still greater. The majority of the House of Commons now saw with regret, that they had been led too far astray, and they returned to resolutions which were favourable, if not to the king, yet to royalty, and even afforded a glimmering hope to Charles himself. As these risings continued, and a mutiny broke out in the fleet, there was a disposition to proceed still further, and immediately to renew the negociation with the king; but the Independents would not hear

April 28.

of it; they spoke of the inplacability of the king, and their assertion gained credit. As the sword was once drawn, they said, they must throw the scabbard into the fire. Cromwell was then preparing for a third march to London to cleanse the Parliament; and had it not been for Fairfax, he would have done so. Being baffled in his plan, Cromwell resolved to go to the west, to put down the insurgents. While so employed, he learnt that the Scotch had actually
July. entered England, not indeed with 40,000 men as they intended, but with 14,000, who came to wipe off the stain from the Scotch reputation: but the result proved far otherwise. Cromwell, of his own authority, advanced against them with less than 6,000 men; he was joined on the way by some thousands more, and in three engagements defeated the Scotch and their English auxiliaries. He then entered Scotland and
Sept. 26. concluded peace, on condition that the convention in Charles's favour should be dissolved, and the Holy Covenant of the two kingdoms again sworn to. The news of these victories was received by the Presbyterians at Westminster with secret dismay; they could think of no other means of securing themselves against the consequences, but a speedy agreement with the king. The bases of the negociation were the same as the former ones. Deputies from both houses repaired to the Isle of Wight where they met a prince grown grey through sorrow; grief and melancholy stamped upon his brow, yet retaining all his kingly dignity; apparently ready to agree to every thing, but internally cherishing the hope of speedily making war upon the Parliament, and even projecting a plan of escape, though he had pledged his word of honour not to do

so. The conferences terminated at the end of November, and the commissioners departed to lay the result before Parliament. The English army had likewise concluded its conferences, and had already passed several resolutions. Immediately after Cromwell's victorious return from Scotland, Fairfax suffered himself to be persuaded to re-establish the former military Parliament. This Parliament resolved that the king should be brought to trial; and that, when justice had been done upon him, the representatives of the people should immediately choose another king. They at once proceeded to put the plan into execution; seized upon the king's person, and conveyed him from the Isle of Wight, to a gloomy and desolate fortress called Hurst Castle, on the opposite coast of Hampshire. Fairfax wrote word to the Parliament that, in a few days, he should come with the army, and he kept his word. On the 5th of December, the House of Commons declared, by a majority of 36 (140 to 104), that the king's answers were calculated to serve as a basis for peace; but at seven o'clock in the morning of the 6th, two regiments occupied all the avenues leading to the house. When the members arrived, forty-one leading Presbyterians were arrested, and many others refused admittance. This measure was executed under the direction of Colonel Pride. Prynne, who had been only three weeks in the house, had spoken the most zealously in favour of peace. The man whom despotism had twice deprived of his ears, and three times put into the pillory, stood firm to his post on this occasion, till some officers pushed him down stairs. The resistance of the house was not yet overcome. It resolved not to proceed to any

Nov. 28.

Nov. 29.

Dec. 5.

business till its members were restored. On the 7th, however, when 40 more members were taken prisoners by Colonel Pride, and only the most violent and fanatical remained, the house resolved, by a majority of 50 to 28, to take into consideration the proposals of the army. The House of Lords was no longer consulted. Cromwell was present at this sitting. "God is my witness," said he, "that I know nothing of all that has passed in this house; however, since it has been done, I am content." He received the thanks of the House for his victories in Scotland. After the sitting he did not go back to his own residence, but took up his abode in the royal apartments at Whitehall. From this time all power was in his hands; but in the mouths of the malicious and thoughtless multitude, Pride was the hero of the day. The cure which he had performed on the Parliament was called Pride's purge; and the few members that were left, were designated as the Rump Parliament.

Dec. 23. The king was now conveyed to Windsor, and this shadow of a House of Commons resolved that he should be brought to trial for treason, because he had made war upon the Parliament. A high court of justice, consisting of 150 members, was appointed to judge the king. It was composed of a selection of peers, judges, baronets, aldermen, and members of the Lower House. In this very important case, the sanction of the Peers was desired, but the latter, twelve in number, unanimously refusing to take a part, the Lower House declared their consent superfluous, and struck out the names of the six peers who had been appointed judges. The list of the commissioners

1649. Jan.

was still further reduced by several others declining the office; among whom was the young Algernon Sydney, a sincere friend of the republic. He went to London and made his declaration, that such a bloody deed would extinguish in the people all love for a republic, and probably cause an insurrection. "Nobody will stir," said Cromwell; "I tell you, we will cut off his head with the crown upon it." The king, who so long continued to indulge chimerical hopes, had the first presentiment of his fate when they removed his canopy of state, as had formerly been done to his unhappy grandmother, and no longer presented the cup on bended knee. On the 19th of January, he was brought to London, and lodged in St. James's Palace, and on the following day the trial commenced in Jan. 20.
Westminster Hall. Bradshaw, a lawyer of reputation, was president of the court. Sixty-nine members were in attendance. The president addressed the accused as "Charles Stuart, King of England," and named as his accusers, "the Commons of England in Parliament assembled." The king's protest against the jurisdiction of the Court being rejected, he addressed the numerous spectators, saying: "Remember that the King of England is judged without being permitted to produce his arguments in favour of the liberty of the people." They answered with cries of "God save the King;" and this acclamation was repeated at every sitting, in spite of all the efforts of the officers to prevent it. Queen Henrietta wrote to the House of Commons, requesting permission to return to her husband: the Prince of Wales applied to Fairfax, who, however, refused to take any part in the acts of the Court;

the Scotch Parliament put in a formal protest against the proceedings; the French and Dutch courts re-
Jan. 25. monstrated by their ambassadors. On the 25th of January, the sentence of death was passed on Charles, as "a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and the public enemy." Six and forty members of the court were present. After the sentence was read, Charles vehemently required that a proposal, which he desired to make, should be heard. It was supposed that he wished to renounce the throne in favour of the Prince of Wales; but the court refused his demand, and he was removed with violence to the palace of Whitehall, where he had known happier days. He desired to take leave of his younger children, the Princess Elizabeth, who was twelve, and the Duke of Gloucester, only seven years old, who had remained in England under the
Jan. 30. care of the Parliament. The execution took place on a scaffold hung with black erected in front of Whitehall, with which a communication was opened by breaking down a part of the wall at the end of the long dining-room. Two men in vizors, disguised in the dress of sailors, were standing upon the scaffold, and Charles himself gave the signal for the blow which severed his head from his body. The moment the fatal axe had fallen, a deep groan of grief and indignation rose from the assembled multitude. The executioner held up the head to the people, shouting, "This is the head of a traitor!" Two regiments of cavalry slowly dispersed the crowd.

Amidst all this storm of passion, we behold one man cheerful and even inclined to joke: this was Oliver Cromwell. When he, the third in order, had

signed the sentence of the king's death, he splashed the ink from his pen into his neighbour's face, and when the king's head had fallen, and the corpse was already placed in the coffin, Cromwell mounted the scaffold, and demanded to see the body. He took the head in his hands, and said, "This is a healthy body, which promised a long life."

CHAPTER III.

The Commonwealth under the Long Parliament.

JAN. 30. 1649—APRIL 20. 1653.

1649. Jan. 30. ON the very day of the execution of Charles I., the House of Commons, which consisted of Independents, passed an act which prohibited, under pain of high treason, the proclamation of Charles Stuart, otherwise called Prince of Wales, or of any other person as king
Feb. 6. or chief magistrate of England or Ireland. A few days afterwards they abolished the House of Lords, and assumed the name of "the Parliament of England."
Feb. 7. Immediately after this, they formally abolished the office of king as useless, burdensome, and dangerous to the liberty, security, and welfare of the people; and a form of oath was drawn up by which every person in office pledged himself to fidelity to the existing government, "without king and House of Lords." This oath of fidelity, or engagement, as it was called, was soon extended to every Englishman above the age of seventeen. At the same time a high court of justice, very similar to the star chamber, was instituted, to try crimes against the state. An annuity of 1000*l.* each was assigned to the Princess Elizabeth and the Duke of Gloucester, the two youngest children of the late king resident in England; but the princess did not long survive her father's execution.

This Parliament was composed of only a fraction of the House of Commons, which, on the 3rd November, 1640, consisted of at least 500 members, but was now reduced to 80; some new representatives were however occasionally elected, which increased the number to 150. Such an assembly was still deemed too large to carry on the government; it was therefore confided to the executive council of state, which consisted of forty-one members, of whom three-fourths had seats in Parliament. Five peers, several judges, and Fairfax and Cromwell, as chief military officers, were members of this council, for only one year. John Milton, the celebrated poet, an ardent friend of the commonwealth, and a zealous advocate for the king's execution, was one of the secretaries of the council of state. Lenthall, the speaker, was henceforth the highest person in the country; the second in rank to him was Fairfax as Lord General Commander-in-chief, and President of the Council of the Army; the third in dignity was Bradshaw, with the title of President of the Council of State.

The army was fixed at 45,000 men, nor did the state of the country allow of any reduction. The Scotch, immediately on the king's execution, had proclaimed Feb. 5. the Prince of Wales, by the title of Charles II., King of Scotland, England, France and Ireland, and sent him an invitation at the court of his brother-in-law, the Prince of Orange, with whom he resided at that time. The flames of insurrection blazed in Ireland, and Charles II. was likewise proclaimed in that kingdom. Cromwell went thither with 12,000 men as Lord Lieutenant, invested with supreme power, both in civil and military affairs for three years. This fearful insurrection was borne

down in torrents of blood. In the following year, a war broke out with Scotland, which called for Cromwell's presence. He was succeeded by his son-in-law, Ireton, who trod in his footsteps, and on his death of the plague, during the Irish massacres, a similar course was pursued by the men who succeeded him in office. In 1652, Ireland might be considered as being again subdued; every thing however still remaining in that kingdom on the footing of war. No papist was allowed to fill any office of importance; and the cruel system of dispersing, and even extirpating the ancient inhabitants, was rigorously pursued; not only were all Roman Catholic priests forced to quit the country, but the population of entire districts was removed to other parts of Ireland; nay, it is even certain that thousands of Irish children were conveyed to the West Indies, where most of them were reduced to slavery. But notwithstanding all these efforts, the Protestants scarcely constituted one-eighth of a population, the greater part of which was plunged into the most abject poverty. A Roman Catholic accounted himself fortunate if he escaped with a fine which swept away one-third of his property; those who had taken an active part in the insurrection forfeited two-thirds of their possessions.

The Parliament of Scotland received Charles II. as king, but did not conceal from him how little they were satisfied with his conduct hitherto. They upbraided him, with all the acrimony and harshness of puritanism, with the sins of his youth, his peace with the Irish papists, and his predilection for Episcopacy. Charles was, therefore, in no cheerful mood when he
1650. arrived in Scotland, with seven Dutch men-of-war, lent
June 23. him by the Prince of Orange. His easy temper at

first complied with an attendance upon the Scotch prayers and sermons, of which there were sometimes six in one day, all insufferably tedious; but when he was required formally to separate from the sins of his father and the idolatries of his mother, he refused; but after awhile he gave way, and actually signed the renunciation. The second Charles was a true son of his father, and now hypocrisy was forced upon him as a necessity. The English Parliament, finding that war with Scotland was inevitable, sent for Fairfax; but being a zealous presbyterian, he entertained insurmountable scruples against attacking the Scotch, and refused to command the expedition against them: he resigned his commission, and who but Cromwell was qualified to succeed him in carrying on a war involving no ordinary difficulty? Leslie, the Scotch General, wisely delayed hazarding a battle, and remained in a strongly fortified position in the passes and on the heights, while the enemy was suffering from privation and sickness, and their communication with England in danger of being cut off. Cromwell retreated to Dunbar; Leslie followed him closely, and contrary to his will the committee of the Parliament, and the ministers of the kirk who were with his army, resolved at once to come to an engagement, that the enemy might not escape them. Cromwell, looking through a glass, saw the Scotch descending from the hills, and joyfully exclaimed, "the Lord has delivered them into our hands." The armies remained in sight of each other the rest of that day, but Cromwell resolved to attack the enemy an hour before daybreak the following morning. This was done, and he Sept. 3. soon gained an important pass; at this moment

a thick mist, which had shrouded the whole country, was suddenly dispersed by the now risen sun, which lighted up that field of blood, and fully revealed the two armies to each other. Cromwell shouted, "now let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered." Long ere the sun had reached its meridian, the Scotch army was scattered, with a loss of 4000 killed and 10,000 prisoners. Cromwell ordered the 107th psalm to be sung on the field of battle, and then marched to Edinburgh, which opened its gates to the victor.

1651. Jan. 1. Notwithstanding this defeat, Charles was crowned at Scone on the 1st of January, 1651. Cromwell had penetrated into the very heart of Scotland, and was besieging Perth, when Charles adopted the bold resolution of marching, with 11,000 men, into England. Should he succeed in this enterprise, he would be at once delivered from puritanical tyranny, which he considered more intolerable than a defeat. Charles was three days' march in advance before his adversary was aware of his plan. Cromwell wrote to the Parliament in England to be under no apprehension; he left 5,000 men under General Monk, and with 10,000 followed Charles. As soon as he entered England Charles proclaimed a complete amnesty, with the exception of three persons, Cromwell, Bradshaw, and Coke, who had conducted the prosecution against his father. At Worcester Charles was proclaimed King of England. Had he, without delay, advanced rapidly towards London, he would have there met his boldest and most powerful adherents, who had gained time to make preparations, while the counties through which he had hitherto passed, had been taken by

Aug. 22.

surprise, which compelled the greater part of the royalists to remain passive. The present was the moment to risk all, in order to gain all; but this was not done. Charles resolved to await the enemy at Worcester, and there, with about 16,000 men, among whom were several thousand English, to encounter the veterans of Cromwell, who with his usual self-command, slowly following his light troops, had gathered reinforcements on his march, till his army amounted to 30,000 men. It was on the anniversary of his victory at Dunbar, that Cromwell gained what Sept. 3. he called "his crowning mercy," at Worcester. The streets were covered with the dead and the dying, and the blood of thousands flowed on both banks of the beautiful Severn. In vain did Charles attempt, as his father had once done, to restore the fortune of the day, by a desperate cavalry attack. It was not a defeat, but a total destruction of the royal army, of which 10,000 men were soon made prisoners. This eventful day changed the defeated monarch into a homeless fugitive, for whose capture the Parliament offered a reward of 1000*l*. Escaping, through a wonderful complication of dangers, he at length happily landed in Normandy. The remarkable and Oct. 17. romantic history of his flight shows that the royal house still possessed adherents of the most devoted fidelity; and Charles stood higher in public opinion since he had acted and suffered, though without success.

Scotland could now resist no longer: it was compelled to submit to Monk, and the English Parliament seriously engaged in a plan to abolish the Scotch Parliament, and to accomplish the union of the two

kingdoms; they also turned their thoughts to an incorporation of Ireland; and it was even debated whether a union with the States-General might not be effected: but on this side, there were difficulties before which all such plans must fail. The infant Commonwealth of England had met with marked disrespect at the Hague in the person of its first ambassador, Dorislaus, who was attacked and stabbed at dinner at an hotel in that town. He had assisted in the court which condemned the late king and was supposed to have drawn up the indictment against him. Not only were the Stuarts received at the Hague, as relations of the house of Orange, but their most ardent partizans were constantly going to and fro between that place and France. There was no doubt that the murder had been committed by them. The haughty Oliver St. John, who succeeded him, had to encounter the abusive language of Prince Edward, son of the Queen of Bohemia; and on one occasion was even assaulted in the public streets, when he happened to meet the young Duke of York, brother of Charles II. So exasperated were the minds of men in both countries, that not only did the project of a great confederation between the English and the Dutch Republic fail, but a breach speedily followed. Scarcely had Charles escaped to the Hague after his defeat at Worcester, when the Parliament passed the
Oct. 9. memorable Navigation Act, which, although expressed in general terms, was directed entirely against Holland. It deprived the Dutch, who had the greatest carrying trade in the world, of their most profitable business with England; for by this act foreigners were prohibited, under pain of the confiscation of ship and cargo, from bringing to England any articles except

of their own production, and in their own vessels. The Dutch were so sensible of the object of this measure, that they immediately demanded the revocation of the act; and when the English refused to consent, or even to suspend it, they not only issued letters of marque, in which the English had anticipated them, but sent a powerful fleet into the Channel. The navy of England had fallen into decay during the time of the Stuarts; yet the Dutch would rather have avoided the war, since even victory itself could give them no indemnity for the loss of their commerce, and of their lucrative fishery in the British seas. The Parliament, on its side, was not wanting in energy. It was necessary for the young republic to display its utmost powers, and, if possible, to surpass all that had been achieved by the kings. It accordingly displayed the greatest activity in making naval preparations, and converting a number of merchantmen into ships of war; and when the storm of battle began, it looked upon defeats only as pledges of future victories. If the names of the naval heroes, de Ruyter and Van Tromp, acquired new splendour at the expence of England,— if they even sailed up the Thames, and ravaged the coasts, the three memorable days at length arrived, on each of which Blake, the English Admiral (a man who, like Cromwell, had embraced late in life the profession of arms), defeated the immortal Van Tromp and the illustrious de Ruyter, who on this occasion served under Van Tromp.

1652. May 19.

1653. Feb. 18, 19, and 20.

Cromwell, as a patriot, rejoiced at this victory, but as an aspirant to sovereign power, he was annoyed. It was absolutely necessary for him to bring matters to a crisis, before a party resembling the Roman

Senate should be formed in Parliament; before the statesmen — restless men who were not to be swayed by bribery — should triumph over the soldiers; and before the glory of the navy should eclipse that of the army. For this Parliament had had the boldness to cut off a fourth part of the military force, which now consisted of only 33,000, instead of 45,000 men; and it was even in contemplation to disband another fourth. Cromwell, in the course of conversation, now often spoke of the expediency of a monarchical government, and is said even to have hinted, that if the good cause were to be upheld, it was necessary that he should have, not only the royal authority (which, in fact, he already possessed), but likewise the title of king. Whenever the subject was broached it was, however, apparent to him that there was an evident preference to treat with the king of the Scots, as they called Charles. Cromwell was therefore resolved on the dissolution of the Parliament.

The parliament had long perceived the approaching storm in the renewal of petitions from the officers and soldiers, filled with complaints against a government, which, by its measures to secure the tranquillity of Scotland and Ireland — by the progress of its endeavours to effect a union with the first, and, perhaps, even with both kingdoms — and, lastly, by its success in raising the navy from a state of decay, and enabling it to gain splendid triumphs, was in a condition to silence every censure. When the officers went still further, and in plain terms demanded the dissolution of this endless parliament (which had been sitting more than twelve years), it could truly answer that it had already, of its own accord, entertained

thoughts of this measure, having long since fixed the 3rd of November, 1654, for the termination of its powers. The house deliberated and passed resolutions respecting the constitution of the new parliament, which was to consist of 400 members, chosen pretty equally from the different counties of England. The leaders of the house were, however, agreed on the necessity of blending the contending interests, and of bringing in a number of Presbyterians, under the name of neutrals; but Cromwell opposed this measure, and resolved to have recourse to violence if needful, adding, that "none of those who had deserted the good cause should have any power in parliament." On being informed of the impending danger, the parliament was preparing to dissolve itself, having previously secured, by preliminary resolutions, the formation of a new house, in the manner above stated. But this was the very thing that Cromwell desired to prevent. He led 300 soldiers into the lobby of the April 20. house, and then, as if nothing had happened, entered, in his usual puritan dress — black, with grey worsted stockings. But when the speaker was about to put the motion, he beckoned to Harrison, and said, "This is the time; I must do it." He then rose, took off his hat, and began a speech on the question before the house. He commenced with a description of the parliament, at first acknowledging its merits; but soon proceeded to violent reproaches. "This is not parliamentary language, you will say. I am well aware of it." He then paced up and down, in much excitement; and stamping with his foot, his soldiers immediately entered. "You are no longer a parliament," he exclaimed: "get you gone; give place to

honester men." Sir Harry Vane attempting to remonstrate, Cromwell cried out, "The Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane!" Harrison took Lenthall, the speaker, by the hand, and led him, without violence, from his seat; but Cromwell reproached every individual, as he drove him out, with being a drunkard or an adulterer; and pointing at the speaker's mace, said, "Take away this bauble." After he had driven them all out, about eighty in number, he locked the door of the house, put the key in his pocket, and departed to his residence in Whitehall. There he found the council of officers still assembled, and told them what had been done. "When I went to the house," he said, "I did not think to have done this; but perceiving the Spirit of God strong upon me, I would no longer consult flesh and blood." In the afternoon he went with some of his officers to the council of state, and declared it to be dissolved in consequence of the dissolution of the parliament. Bradshaw, who was in the chair, remained faithful to his principles, appealed from this temporary violence to the eternity of justice, saying, "You are mistaken, Sir, in thinking that the parliament is dissolved, for no power under heaven can dissolve it but the members themselves."

From that time Cromwell had every thing in his own hands, and possessed more power than could, in fact, be agreeable to him.

CHAPTER IV.

The Commonwealth under the Little Parliament.

4TH JULY TO 12TH DECEMBER, 1653.

DURING the following two months and a half which elapsed till the convocation of a new parliament, the government was conducted by a council of state, consisting of thirteen members; one third of whom were lawyers, and two thirds superior officers, — Cromwell being Lord President. The preparations for a new parliament were as follows: lists were made out in the counties of those who were called "the saints," "men fearing God," "enemies to all lusts;" and of these the council of state nominated 139 for England, 6 for Wales, 6 for Ireland, and 4 for Scotland; thus con- 1653.
stituting a parliament of 155 members, each of whom was informed by the letter summoning him for what district he was appointed. On the 4th of July Crom- July 4.
well opened this new parliament, 120 members of which were present, forming a very grave-looking, but most decorous assemblage. He who heard the list of the names read — the many Habakkuks, Ezekiels, Zerubbabels — might have fancied himself in an old Jewish sanhedrim; but they were only prefixes to ancient English family names, while others, equally strange, as "born again," "steadfast in the faith," and the like, were the more recent inventions of the Puritans. The wits of the day did not fail

to notice, that the brother of one of the members, a dealer in leather, who had taken the name of "Praise God Barebones," was usually called "damned Barebones," because the long prefix to his name, "If Christ had not died for you, you had been damned," had been abridged, and only the last word retained. But Cromwell found it by no means so easy as he had expected to manage this strange assembly, called by many the Barebone parliament, as if it had been composed of none but beggars. When he thought to awe them by his intercourse with the Holy Spirit, these men professed they too were daily visited by the same Spirit. They were, however, no empty visionaries. They had seriously reflected on political matters, and now took them up in a practical manner; and while they introduced into the improvements of the administration of the laws, the impulse of conscientious motive, they cared little how often they crossed the wishes of Cromwell or of any other individual. As honourable, wealthy citizens, they urged strict economy in the affairs of state, and desired the reduction of the army, which Cromwell, for good reasons, would not hear of. They would have been glad too, that every Englishman should be well acquainted with the laws, which he was bound to obey. They thought that instead of the immense confused mass of common and statute law, there ought to be a code, which might be carried in the pocket; and were surely not mistaken in at once commencing with the penal law. It has been erroneously imputed to them, that they proposed the Books of Moses, or even the Ten Commandments, as a code of laws. They desired to have the right of patronage of church livings abolished, so that

every congregation should in future choose its own preacher. Tithes too were to be abolished, and an indemnity given for them. On all these points the tribunals, the patrons, and the clergy, were their opponents. Cromwell foresaw this result, and was glad of it, for he longed to be rid of them. On the 12th of December he lost his patience, and Dec. 12. arbitrarily dissolved them. In order to give a show of regularity to this proceeding, he caused a number of members to sign a formal deed, in which they relinquished their post, and gave the supreme power to Cromwell, President of the council of state and Lord-General.

CHAPTER V.

The Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell.

16TH DECEMBER, 1653—3D SEPTEMBER, 1658.

CROMWELL, after a consultation with the superior officers, resolved to exercise the supreme authority by the title of Lord Protector. On the 16th of December, a splendid procession proceeded from Whitehall to Westminster. Lambert, who, of all the generals, was then the nearest in rank to Cromwell, publicly requested him, in the name of the armed force and of the three nations, to accept the dignity of Lord Protector of the Commonwealth. Cromwell started, made a show of resistance, but at length accepted the office. Hereupon was read a document called "The Instrument of Government," which consisted of forty-two articles, and which confided the legislative authority to the Lord Protector, and to the Parliament. The former, however, was only to have the power to delay for twenty days giving his sanction to any bill, and if within that time, he had not induced the parliament to withdraw its resolution, it was to become a law, by the authority of the house alone. The parliament was to meet regularly every three years; and if the Protector deferred to summon it, the Keeper of the Great Seal was to do so, and if he should neglect it, the sheriffs of the counties were to convoke the house on pain of high treason. Such a parliament was not to be prorogued or dissolved within five months of its meeting without its own consent,

1653. Dec. 16.

but one specially convoked out of due course might be prorogued or dissolved at the expiration of three months. The parliament was to consist of 400 members for England, of whom 261 were to be chosen by the counties: all rotten boroughs were to lose their elective franchise; there were to be thirty members for Scotland, and the same number for Ireland. The elective franchise was attached to the possession of 200*l.* in personal or real property, except in the case of Irish rebels, papists, or persons who had borne arms against the parliament. Though Cromwell gave a splendid proof of his increasing penetration into the true position of human affairs by expressly proclaiming the toleration of the various religious parties, yet here everything connected with popery and prelacy was expressly excluded. The executive power was vested in the Lord Protector; he was to take the advice of his council of state, and, in the event of a war, immediately to summon a parliament. The forces, both by sea and land, were under his command, and it was left to his discretion to determine the strength of the navy.

The army was not to exceed 30,000 men, of whom one-third were to be cavalry. All the great officers of state were to be chosen with the approbation of parliament; and when the house was not sitting, with that of the majority of the council of state. The Lord Protector was to have 20,000*l.* a year, and retain his dignity for life. His successor was to be chosen by the council of state, consisting of not fewer than thirteen, or more than twenty-one members. Till the new parliament should meet, on the 3d of September, Cromwell's propitious day, the Lord Protector was au-

thorised, with the advice of the council of state, to raise whatever money might be requisite, and to issue ordinances, which should remain in force till the meeting of the said parliament.

The courts of Europe did not hesitate to acknowledge the declared ruler of England. Their ambassadors found a court in the apartments formerly inhabited by the royal family, which were now splendidly furnished. The Protector, sitting on a chair of state, which was raised three feet, received their compliments in form, and the Lady Protectress was surrounded with a brilliant circle of ladies. The Protector considered it to be below his dignity to be addressed by the king of France as "mon cousin;" but as His Majesty would not consent to use the term "mon frère," it was at length agreed to give up the terms of relationship, and adopt that of "Monsieur le Protecteur." Yet Cromwell often repeated, that he should prefer a shepherd's crook to all worldly glory.

Admiral Blake, a truly republican character, who, amidst all the tumult of parties, ever had the interest of his country exclusively at heart, was evidently an object of dislike to the Protector. When Monk followed the example of Blake, and left the military for the naval service, he soon obtained the chief command at sea; but the zeal of Blake was not abated. He decided the action in which Monk gained a splendid
June 2. 3. victory over the Dutch off the North Foreland. From that time the Dutch were more earnest in their negotiations for peace; but they were frequently broken off, on account of their aversion to a union between the two first naval powers and republics in the world,

under a common government, to be carried on by persons of both nations; a plan which Cromwell long prosecuted with indefatigable perseverance, as a grand object worthy his ambition. In the most unfavourable case he hoped to obtain, at least, the exclusion of the house of Orange from the office of stadtholder, which was still vacant, because William III., Prince of Orange, son of the late stadtholder, William II., and of the daughter of King Charles I., was at that time only three years of age. After Monk had gained a second naval victory off the Texel, in which Van Tromp ended his glorious career, the Protector fitted out 100 ships, and at length concluded peace. The Stuarts were removed from Holland by the stipulation that neither country should harbour exiles or enemies of the other state. Holland agreed to pay some indemnity, all other demands were relinquished; but Cromwell gained his main point, with the consent of the states of Holland and West Friesland, of excluding the house of Orange from the office of stadtholder.

July 31.

1654. April 5.

It was therefore no empty boast when the Protector, on opening his new parliament on the 4th of September (as the third, which had been fixed fell on a Sunday), boasted of the peace which he had concluded, and of his treaties of commerce with Denmark and Sweden, in which latter country the English merchants were in future not to pay higher toll than the Dutch. He was also well pleased that instead of the intrepid Bradshaw the house elected the aged and compliant Lenthall for its Speaker, though it was no agreeable indication that it did not ask for his approval of its choice, and in fact imme-

Sept. 3.

diately proceeded to questions of principle. A majority of five had already decided to discuss the question whether the Government should remain in the hands of a single individual, when the Protector
Sept. 12. appeared in person, and gave them to understand that they were to refrain, once for all, from such inquiries; that Providence and the people had called him to his post; they alone therefore had a right to remove him, though he would prefer living as a plain country gentleman. "You must know," said he, "that there are four fundamentals:—first, that the supreme government should be vested in one individual and a parliament; secondly, that the parliament should not be made perpetual; thirdly, that the militia should not be entrusted to any one hand or power, but be so disposed that the parliament should have a check upon the Protector, and the Protector on the parliament; and fourthly, that in matters of religion there should be liberty of conscience, so that it should not degenerate into impiety or persecution." As for all other points, he assured them they would ever find him ready to meet their wishes, but those fundamentals could not be altered or called in question; and in conclusion, he told them that he was obliged to appoint a test, or recognition of his government which must be signed by all of them before they again entered the house. The paper containing this test was placed on a table near the door, and about 130 members immediately subscribed, and then returned to their seats, when they adjourned for a day to give time to the rest to sign the test. About 300 members affixed their signatures to it. But when the parliament, without touching the four fun-

damentals, continued to propose changes in the constitution, Cromwell dissolved it; but as the five months which the constitution required, were not fully completed, he computed the time according to lunar and not to calendar months. 1655. Jan. 22.

The Protector had now a prospect of remaining unmolested by a parliament for two years, if he felt so disposed. The ordinary expenses were provided for by an annual revenue of 2,250,000*l*. The army, of which the greater part was quartered near the metropolis, secured its tranquillity. The Protector had a body-guard of 160 men, and England was divided into twelve military districts, the chief commanders of which were invested with great powers. The due subordination of the army was guaranteed by Cromwell's not allowing any council of officers, but the main security was the remarkable spiritual temper of the army, the sincerity of which was evidenced by an extraordinary moral rectitude. This was also the leading feature of the court of the Protector. The greatest decorum and propriety prevailed there, to which the dissolute life of the expelled king formed a notorious contrast. He had taken up his residence at Cologne, since Cromwell had succeeded in effecting his expulsion from the French territory also. Though the pension which he received from France secured him personally from want, his court was rich only in high titles, and his attendants were reduced to the most deplorable distress.

The crowns of France and Spain eagerly sought the friendship of Cromwell: he did not hesitate to accept the French alliance; and held out to the people of England, as an indemnity for its liberty, wealth

and power at the expense of Spain. His haughty demands from that kingdom were free trade to the West Indies, and the abolition of the tribunal of the inquisition. "This," said the Spanish ambassador, "is demanding the two eyes of my sovereign." Long before the declaration of war, England had already commenced hostilities in the colonies, which, it is true, did not always yield victory and booty. But the heroic energy of Blake inspired general enthusiasm; and a feeling of conscious pride pervaded England, when the people heard that their harsh, wayward ruler enforced his will abroad as well as at home; compelled the Duke of Savoy, for the honour of protestantism, to grant freedom of conscience to the poor Waldenses, chastised the Barbary powers one after another, and threatened the pope in his own Babylon. If, however, we again turn our eyes to the state of things at home, we see that all men of energetic character were against the Protector, and even sometimes told him deliberately to his face that his power was illegal, and that so much blood had not been spilt in order that all the abuses of power might be restored. Conspirators may be punished, and Cromwell was always successful in overcoming them, but war against principles has ever been difficult. Thus Bradshaw lost his high judicial office; and Sir Harry Vane, who wrote against the government, with Ludlow, Harrison, and many others, was arrested and imprisoned, but released soon afterwards. In the main, however, matters remained on the same footing. The
1656. war with Spain rendered it necessary to summon a parliament, and the results of the elections were unfavourable to the Protector: he, therefore, placed

soldiers at the door of the House, with directions not to suffer any one to enter but such as produced a warrant from the council. Thus a hundred members were excluded, among whom was Hazlerig; the war with Spain was approved, and 400,000*l.* granted to carry it on. Such means sufficed for Cromwell's immediate object, but their use always called to mind the military character of the administration, and its odious origin: no regular civil government could be founded upon it: and, if such was the present state of things, what might be dreaded under a successor? Sept. 17.

In order to establish his power on a more solid basis, Cromwell ardently desired to have a House of Peers, and to bear the title of King. He had not much difficulty in inducing the parliament to make him the offer, though the first mention of it raised a violent commotion in that assembly. But the aversion of his officers to royalty manifested itself with great vehemence; even Lambert, Desborough his brother-in-law, and Fleetwood his son-in-law, demanded their discharge. Above an hundred superior officers petitioned the parliament against it; and it availed the Protector nothing that he entered on the subject in familiar conversation with them, as was his custom, — that he treated their dislike of the royal title as a childish folly, of which grown-up people ought to be ashamed. He had now to consider whether he should sacrifice an army, which looked on him as the support of the good cause, for an uncertain result. He thought it best to desist, and replied to the parliament that he could not accept the royal title. Yet on this occasion he had, by means of negotiation with his confidants, advanced consider- 1657. April. May 6.

ably towards his object, having obtained the sanction of the two houses of parliament to appoint a successor, and to nominate the members of what was called the "other house."

1658. Jan. 20. At the commencement of the new year, 1658, the two houses actually met; the first, which did not choose any longer to be called the House of Commons (augmented by the grateful Protector with the hundred members previously excluded), and an upper house. This was now designated "the Second House," and consisted of sixty-one hereditary members: at the head of the list were the Protector's two sons, Richard and Henry, and his two sons-in-law; then two former peers, six others having refused the appointment; the remainder were partly members of the council, and partly lawyers and officers, all men of wealth and respectability. At the opening of the session, the houses were addressed, as in the time of the monarchy, by the title of "My Lords, and Gentlemen of the House of Commons;" but the words had lost their former import. The Commons, since their number had been increased, would not hear of "the other house." Hazlerig, who had been nominated to the second house, declined a peerage, and persisted in retaining his seat in the House of Commons, where he displayed all his former energy. A powerful majority having refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the "other house," Cromwell had no alternative but to dissolve the parliament, which he did on the

Feb. 4. 4th of February, concluding his speech with these words: "I do dissolve this parliament, and let God judge between you and me." Thus Cromwell's last parliament, after sitting only fourteen days,

broke up without having granted any taxes, of which Cromwell was in great need. He was, however, rejoiced by a victory gained by Blake, who had triumphed over the batteries of Cadiz, and thereby dispelled the popular prejudice, that a fleet could never contend with batteries on shore. The hero did not long survive this victory; and was buried, with great honours, in Westminster Abbey. The Protector, by the aid of France, at length succeeded in gaining from the Spanish crown the harbour of Dunkirk, which he had long wished to obtain. His mind, however, was latterly clouded with gloomy presentiments: he had long worn a coat of mail under his clothes, and always carried loaded pistols; but he now became more and more suspicious. The work of a whole life, too, lay unfinished before him; and he could not conceal from himself, that his career would probably soon draw to a close. During the last twelve months he suffered from want of sleep; and after the death of his favourite daughter Elizabeth, who had been married to Lord Claypole, he was in a constant fever. On his death-bed he said to his chaplain, "Is it true, Sterry *, that the elect can never fall, or suffer a final reprobation?" "Nothing more certain," replied the chaplain. "Then am I safe," said the Protector; "for I am sure that I was once in a state of grace." He died on the 3d of September, the anniversary of his great victories at Dunbar and Worcester, in the 60th year of his age. Clarendon calls him a brave rogue; yet he, as minister to King Charles II., had less reason than any one to speak in his praise. But while the loud voices of reproach

April 20.

Sept. 3.

* Hume says Goodwin.

and admiration were blended over his cold remains, more reflecting minds could not but be astonished how, when the necessities of the age are the most urgent, a man suitable to the occasion is invariably raised up to meet the exigency. Cromwell, when a young man, seemed to be destined to a most peaceful career. When he returned from Cambridge and Lincoln's Inn, without having acquired a taste for the study of the law, he undertook the management of his father's brewery at Huntingdon, and occasionally sat in the House of Commons, as his father had done, as representative of his native town. He subsequently sold the business, and became a farmer. It was not long afterwards that his mind became impressed with religious feelings: he renounced the dissolute life that he had hitherto led, and conscientiously returned considerable sums which he had won at play. And how extraordinary was his subsequent career! By a strange concatenation of circumstances, he had succeeded in attaining the highest dignity in the realm. It is also remarkable that, as his relative, Thomas Cromwell, the all-powerful minister of Henry VIII., was the founder of the Anglican Church, so Oliver Cromwell was her bitterest enemy.

CHAPTER VI.

The last Pangs of the Commonwealth.

SEPTEMBER, 1658 — MAY, 1660.

THE glory of Cromwell, so far from being eclipsed at his death, seemed rather to shine forth with additional splendour. At his magnificent funeral a beautifully wrought image of the Protector was carried in the procession with a royal crown upon its head; and the supreme dignity was transmitted to his eldest son by a proclamation of the council, as if an hereditary monarch had expired. The declaration was drawn up in very simple terms, announcing that the Protector had chosen Richard, the elder of his two sons, for his successor. Thus, Richard, who had nothing in common with his father, except that the foundation of his education was laid in the school of law, was raised to the rank of protector. But while Oliver manfully leapt over every abyss, and overcame every obstacle, his eldest son pursued the broad road of youthful indulgence; sought his pleasure in the company of luxurious cavaliers; and, on his marriage, entered into all the ease and enjoyments of a nobleman's country life. Here he lived in retirement, and was comparatively unknown, till his father appointed him Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and created him a peer of the realm. Such a sovereign, who was neither a soldier nor a religious enthusiast, could not be acceptable to the army, which would have been better pleased with

Henry, the Protector's second son, who, if not of the genuine complexion of "the saints," had yet betimes dipped his sword in the blood of his countrymen, and was at that time Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The superior officers, including Fleetwood, Richard's own brother-in-law, would neither allow that the deceased Protector had the right to appoint his successor, nor believe that he had chosen Richard; but when they were satisfied on this point, they agreed that the command of the army, which had founded this constitution, ought not to remain in the hands of a lawyer, who understood nothing of the choice of officers. A rupture would have taken place at once, had not Henry Cromwell collected a force in Ireland and General Monk in Scotland, and caused Richard to be proclaimed Protector in both kingdoms.

Under these circumstances, the Protector prudently resolved at once to summon a parliament; but Thurloe, Whitelock, and some others of his father's ministers whom he had retained, unwisely counselled him, for the sake of immediate advantage, to dispel the Nimbus which shed a lustre on the institutions of Oliver Cromwell. He was induced to deviate from the elective system framed in his father's time, and to return to the ancient mode, by issuing writs to the smaller or rotten boroughs, in order to give the government and the nobility more influence in the elections. This plan entirely succeeded; when the list of the new members was read in the council, they were found to be for the most part, weak and dependent men, and the sixty representatives of Ireland and Scotland (thirty from each kingdom), were as good as elected by the Protector himself. When, however, they met in parlia-

ment and heard the almost venerated voices of Bradshaw, Scot, Ludlow, Vane, and Hazlerig, their enthusiasm was kindled, the lust of power awakened, and the desire to continue the astonishing work which those men had founded, was excited in every breast. They all set out with contempt of the "other house," which consisted of the same persons who had been nominated by Oliver Cromwell. This feeling was manifested on the opening of the session, when a very small number of members of the House of Commons obeyed the summons of Richard to attend the performance of the solemnity in the Upper House. The well-studied speech of the Lord Protector was delivered almost to bare walls: it contained not a trace of the old puritanical cant; nor was there a spark to enliven the frigid countenances of the veterans of the sword and prayer. Even the great Oliver had sometimes been overcome by the temptations of the flesh, and his faithful adherents often rose full of wrath against him; how, then, could novices, they "who did not seek the Lord," attempt to establish a new order of things. There was a difference of opinion in the Lower House, whether they should recognise the new Protector, and, secondly, whether they should acknowledge the "other house." When they, at length, rather suffered than declared the recognition of Richard, they reserved to themselves a right to make changes in the constitution, for which Richard himself, by altering the system of election, had imprudently given the signal. They agreed that liberty would be in danger if the Protector united, with the power given to him, that of the "other house," the members of which were nominated by himself. They

January, 1559.

Jan. 27.

postponed the decision, whether the Commons should grant the Protector a certain veto on their resolutions; but they positively determined not to allow a negative to the other House, a body first created by the Commons, which, in fact, had been granted to the late Protector for once only, or, at least, for himself personally. They resolved on this occasion to treat with the peers themselves so far as they agreed to their opinions, but no further, and without prejudicing the proceedings of any future parliaments; and thus, by a strange reverse of position, the upper House was placed exactly where the Commons had stood four centuries before. Thus the Commons were endeavouring to abridge the authority of the other two powers of the state, forgetting that they thereby facilitated the proceedings of the officers, who had the physical force in their hands, and among whom there were many peers. Most of the superior officers agreed with Fleetwood, that he ought to have the disposal of the armed force. When the parliament was preparing a declaration that the command of the army depended on the three powers of the state, the officers accelerated their proceedings. They gave the Protector the option of dissolving the parliament himself, and informed him that in the event of his declining, the army would do so forthwith. Richard saw clearly that the question no longer related to the prolongation of his power, but to the manner in which he should sink into obscurity. He accordingly resolved to comply with the will of those who really possessed the power, and sign the dis-
April 22. solution of the house. He was suffered to remain in the splendid apartments of Whitehall and Hampton

Court, and to receive the revenue attached to his dignity; but no one regarded him, and the officers who adhered to his cause were deprived of their places.

The actual government was now in the hands of Fleetwood and the council of officers. These authorities recalled the long parliament: not however the original house, in which there were many Royalists, but that which was purified by Cromwell in 1648, and had sat from that time till the 20th April 1653, when he violently dissolved it. A hundred and ninety-four of the members excluded by Cromwell were still living, eighty of whom were in London. These attempted, at the opening of the session, to maintain their right, and sent a deputation, headed by Prynne, but he encountered his old enemy, Colonel Pride, at the door of the house, and was refused admittance. Hence the old joke very naturally revived, and this mutilated parliament, which had scarcely seventy members, was called the Rump. These seventy now obtained permission to declare themselves the supreme power of the state: they appointed a committee of safety and a council of state, and quieted the Republicans by a public declaration that a system of government should be instituted without the sway of one individual, without royalty, and without another house. The new rulers were relieved from great apprehension by the receipt of letters from Monk, expressing the entire concurrence of his army in this revolution. Danger, indeed, still impended from Ireland, when Henry Cromwell, after long hesitation, notified his submission and that of his army to the present parliament. There is reason

May 6.

May 7.

to believe that he had some intention of raising the banner of the Stuarts in Dublin; but he met with such decided republican sentiments in his principal officers, that he had not resolution to execute his plan. After his submission to the parliament he embarked for England, where he died, in retirement, in 1674. His brother Richard resigned his high office, signed his demission in form, and quitted the royal palaces. He was overwhelmed with debts, as the expenses of his father's magnificent funeral, amounting to 28,000*l.*, and other charges of a public nature, had been most
July 4. unjustly thrown upon him. On the 4th July the parliament passed a vote to exempt Richard Cromwell, the late Protector, from arrest for debt for six months; but on the 16th of the same month they agreed to the rather more honourable motion for an order to pay his debts, amounting in all to 29,640*l.*; at the same time delegating a committee to provide a comfortable maintenance for him and his widowed mother. Only a small portion of the money was ever paid, so that Richard was in continual danger of being arrested, and consequently left England. He, however, eventually returned, and lived in great privacy till 1712, when he died, in the eighty-sixth year of his age. It has been said that the non-payment of the sum voted was owing to the discovery that he had negotiated with the Stuarts, for office and a pension.

In times of such political torpor, nothing calculated for duration is attempted, because amidst a multiplicity of objects, each of which is equally practicable, there is no preponderant necessity for the accomplishment of any one in particular. Amidst all these

vicissitudes — amidst all these convulsions of the most sacred bonds of civil and domestic life, the people retained a wonderful degree of moral rectitude. Religion was not made a means of subsistence, as it now often is; it made sacrifices, and required them. None of the leaders was indifferent to his good name. This very circumstance hindered the restoration of the protectorate; which, however, seemed to be the only certain means to prevent the return of the Stuarts. Fleetwood, who had the most title to aspire to the highest place, was reproached by his wife with having ruined the house of Cromwell: he would not occupy a secondary position, and yet took no steps to advance his own claim. Lambert might have succeeded more easily. Fairfax, who had lately re-appeared on the public stage, was quietly waiting till the time of the Stuarts should come. Thus, while there was much discussion about the constitution, but little was done. The superior officers were generally in favour of a permanent senate and a house of representatives. Others, on the contrary, wished for a permanent house of representatives of the people freely elected; but that fresh vigour should be infused into it, by a portion of the members going out every year in rotation, and others being elected in their room. Many feared that this would lead to bad consequences, and proposed Ephori, invested with the right of objecting to the resolutions of the parliament. "But," it was urged on the other side, "would not the danger of precipitate resolutions be most effectually provided against if we had two assemblies? One of 300 members, to propose and to deliberate; the other, of 100 members, possessing the exclusive power to decide." "In all

these projects the executive power was the worst provided for. It was, indeed, proposed that a council of state should be nominated by the parliament for this object, and responsible to the following parliament; but the immense advantage which results from vesting the executive authority in one individual had been thrown away at the beginning; and the state of affairs seemed to be paving the way for the return of the Stuarts.

Prince Charles refrained at times from his low and and puerile amusements, to strive at recovering his father's throne. The activity of his adherents was boundless. A royalist insurrection broke out in England as early as July, but which, being inefficiently conducted, was defeated by the rapid measures of Lambert: but this defeat was fully counterbalanced by intelligence that discord had broken out in the camp of the victors. The inflexible Hazlerig was resolved to put an end to the dominion which the superior officers exercised in England. Relying on the promises of several regiments, and the assent of Monk and Ludlow, the latter of whom commanded in Ireland, he carried a resolution in the parliament, which deprived Fleetwood, Lambert, and several other officers of the first rank, of their commands. Hazlerig had made a false calculation: for scarcely had Lambert, instead of yielding, placed himself at the head of his troops, when the regiments of the parliament joined them, and agreed that there was no ground for fighting. The result was, that the Rump Parliament
Oct. 13. gave up all hopes, and suspended its sittings. The council of officers took upon themselves to draw up the future constitution. In the interim they appointed,

in place of the parliament, a committee of safety. On the dissolution of the council of state, Bradshaw, the president, roused himself from a bed of severe sickness, and declared his detestation of this apostasy of the officers. In his last moments he affirmed, that if King Charles were to be tried that day he would vote for his condemnation, as he had done before.

From the rapid succession of unwelcome crises, among which even the feeble Richard was once thought of, till Fleetwood, equally weak in another way, for a while obtained the upper hand, it was manifest that the decision on the future destiny of Scotland would not proceed from England. General Monk held the reins of the army in Scotland exclusively in his own hand. He had always wisely prevented the formation of a council of officers by quartering the troops in different parts of the country. To judge by his military career, his opinions were in favour of the royal cause, for he had only served the republic from the moment that its victory was decided. Reserved and impenetrable, without the slightest tincture of puritanism, the Liberals never could consider him cordially devoted to them; but the *good old cause* was indebted to him for splendid victories by sea and land, and Cromwell employed him in preference to the enthusiastic Blake, who was above all views to his private advantage, and, besides, entertained peculiar principles respecting church and state. Cromwell, who well knew the man he had to deal with, was perfectly easy respecting Monk's fidelity. On one occasion, however, he intimated, in the postscript of a letter, that he saw through him: "I understand that there is in Scotland a cunning

rogue, George Monk by name, who is lying on the watch for an opportunity to be serviceable to Charles Stuart. I beg you to catch him and send him to me." From the present state of affairs in England, Fleetwood had ample reason to distrust him: he took from him several regiments, and sent him some officers who were by no means welcome. During the insurrection in July, Monk was on the point of declaring himself, but drew back in time, when the activity of Lambert put a surprisingly rapid termination to that enterprise. It was not till the parliament was annihilated that the time had arrived for Monk to act. He declared against the military power, came forward as the advocate of the ancient laws and liberties of the country, and thus gained the public opinion in his favour, without disclosing his ulterior views. When his officers rallied round him, he announced his design of marching into England, to the London council of officers and to the speaker of the expelled parliament, the aged Lenthall, and likewise to the fleet in the Downs and to the army in Ireland. Simultaneously with this intimation he marched with his men towards England. But the council of officers sent Lambert with a numerous body of troops against him. Hazlerig, however, whose influence had of late greatly increased, planned a division in their rear. All the respectable citizens of London demanded a free parliament. Since the late events they had become more clamorous, and agreed not to pay any taxes enforced by any other power than that of the parliament. This temper communicated itself to a portion of the crews of the fleet in the Downs, who, besides, considered the navy neglected, in com-

parison with the army. Admiral Lawson, commander of a squadron, at length yielded to the impetuous zeal of Hazlerig; and when he sailed up the Thames to Gravesend, the division in the army manifested itself. Officers, who had been previously dismissed, came in considerable numbers, and were welcomed by the soldiers. Bodies of citizens traversed the streets of London, saluted Lenthall, the speaker, with vollies of musketry, and proclaimed him general-in-chief; while Fleetwood lost his time in weeping, praying, and wringing his hands. He at length repaired to the house of the speaker and presented to him, on his bended knee, his appointment to the office of lord general. Lenthall, amidst the acclamations of the soldiers who accompanied him, immediately opened the Dec. 26.
Parliament house. The old members joyfully resumed their seats. The exclusion of some renegades was decided on: it was therefore the more inevitable for the remainder to submit to the nickname given to this assembly. Their first care was effectually to take on themselves the command of the army. They decided that Lambert's men should be immediately disbanded, and his regiments dispersed into distant quarters: that he should himself retire to his own house, where orders for his arrest awaited him. This general, otherwise so intrepid, had not ventured to strike any rapid blow this time, because he already felt the ground giving way under him. He was well aware of the aversion of his troops to the renewal of the civil war, of the dissatisfaction of many brave men with the thoroughly absurd management of the army. When he marched against Monk, he was not even sure of Fleetwood. He knew not whether he

would make his peace, behind his back, either with Hazlerig or with the Stuarts! For six weeks together he sat still, during the negociations which Monk carried on with the council of officers in England, and never brought to a conclusion; and when his adversary, at length, struck the first blow, Lambert's arm was for ever paralysed, by the restoration of the parliament. He was sent a prisoner to the Tower.

1660. Jan. 1. On new year's day, 1660, Monk crossed the Tweed, and entered England. It had been arranged between him and Fairfax, that the latter should, on the same day, place himself at the head of the armed insurrection prepared in the county of York, and surprise the capital. They were to meet in twelve days. Fairfax kept his word: his views were decidedly Royalist. He wished to have the king proclaimed, but Monk checked this desire at their first interview, alleging the repugnance of his officers. In fact, the re-assembled parliament had expressed its intention, by making its council of state take an oath against Royalty and the Stuarts. Monk had trouble enough to dissuade his officers from making a declaration in writing that they would obey the parliament in all things, unless it should think fit to recal Charles Stuart, and yet at the same time to ward off suspicion that he himself entertained some designs of the kind. One of the officers who gave utterance to such an imputation was severely caned. Fairfax accordingly disbanded his men, while Monk received an invitation from the parliament to come to Westminster.

During these transactions the parliament was not without mistrust of the general. It sent two of its members, Scott and Robinson, to meet him, under

pretence of congratulating him, but in reality to serve as spies. Nothing could exceed the respect with which he distinguished them as the representatives of the highest power in the state: nothing was more certain than that the division of his army, amounting to only 5,000 men, which he took with him, was merely to serve for the protection of legal authority against the violence of the soldiers which threatened it in the agitated metropolis. He appeared before the House Feb. 6. with great humility, with his head uncovered, and refused the chair which was placed for him within the bar. Standing before the bar, he replied to the Speaker's address, announcing a vote of thanks of the House, very modestly depreciating his own services. Being called upon, as a member of the council of state, to take the oath to abjure the Stuarts, he declared that as seven members had not yet taken the oath, he wished, for the satisfaction of his conscience, to know their reasons: experience had shown that such oaths were as easily broken as taken; that it seemed to him to be an offence against God to swear that one would never consent to any thing, which, however, might possibly be part of the plans of his providence. He had already given the Parliament the strongest proofs of his devotedness, and he was prepared to give new ones.

The Parliament was resolved at once to take the general at his word, and send him against the city, with which it was extremely dissatisfied. The capricious citizens, though pleased that they once more possessed a parliament, were not satisfied with this section of a House, from which the moderate presbyterians were excluded; for in their return the majority beheld

the joyful announcement of the restoration of the Stuarts. They were resolved not to pay any taxes till they had again a complete and free parliament: they barricaded the streets, drew chains across, and strengthened their gates with portcullises, to bid defiance to all force. But the Parliament determined to strike a blow in order to gain a threefold victory, viz. to humble the contumacious citizens; to try the general; and to deprive him of his dangerous popularity. Monk received orders to enter the city by night, to destroy the defences, and to arrest some obnoxious persons. The general stood the test, and obeyed, but with undisguised reluctance. And when, after executing his orders, he learnt that the well-known "Praise God Barebones" had, nevertheless, proposed in the House that every one who refused to renounce the Stuarts, and the government of an individual, should be excluded from Parliament, and from every public
Feb. 10. office, Monk suddenly threw aside the mask. He declared to the Parliament, in writing, that it was the opinion of his officers, that writs to fill up the vacancies in the House should be issued within a week, and that the Parliament, so completed, should proceed as soon as possible to convoke another House, and to dissolve itself. He next declared verbally to the astonished citizens that he had come the day before by command as an enemy, but that now he was come by his own choice as a friend; that his intention was to obtain for the nation, with their assistance, a complete and free parliament. These words excited throughout the city a burst of unbounded joy. The bells were rung, bonfires blazed in the streets and squares, at which, to treat the soldiers, rumps were roasted, carried about

for a time on poles, in derision of the Parliament, and then eaten, while others were burnt with great ceremony, to represent symbolically the funeral obsequies of the odious parliament. The House made a virtue of necessity, and issued the writs. It, indeed, ventured on an attempt to make the oath of allegiance to the Commonwealth a condition of their admission to a seat in the House; but the members who had been excluded twelve years before, insisted on their unconditional rights; and when they came, accompanied by numerous officers, to take their seats, they met with no opposition, but Hazlerig, with his few adherents, quitted the assembly in great despondency. This only made the Royal cause more secure of its final triumph in the Parliament. Feb. 21.

Matters proceeded with such rapid strides that Monk, whose only hope was to overcome the ill-suppressed repugnance of his troops by the public opinion of the country, was very uneasy at this precipitation of the men of 1648. While he still acted the part of a republican and moderate presbyterian, the Parliament already declared all the proceedings in the king's trial to be null, pronounced the creed of the presbyterian Church to be that of England, demanded the execution of the laws against popish recusants, required a House of Lords, and that the new Parliament, the opening of which was fixed for the 25th of April, should be summoned in the king's name. Monk, however, who had just been appointed by the Parliament commander-in-chief of the army in the three kingdoms, crossed the purposes of the enthusiastic men of 1648, placed guards in the House of Lords that no one should enter, and suffered nothing whatever to be done from which a March 3.

recognition of the Royal authority could be inferred, always under pretext that the army which he represented would not consent to it, confirming his protestations with oaths; such, for instance, as, "might his right arm wither if he contemplated anything in favour of the Stuarts." The people of England, however, answered the signal which had been given by the parliament. In various places Charles was proclaimed king, many of the clergy included him in the prayers of the Church, and the common council of London, in an address, expressed itself in favour of the restoration. The parliament therefore resolved, a few days before its dissolution, to be no longer restrained from giving
March 10. a public testimony of its sentiments, by formally revoking the obligations to maintain the commonwealth without an Upper House, and without one individual
March 16. at the head of the government. On the 16th of March this long parliament dissolved itself, having sat since the 3rd of November 1640, for the long period of twenty years; during which it had passed through an infinite variety of actions and sufferings, sometimes apparently reduced to nothing, and then suddenly reviving with renewed vigour.

It was not till after the dissolution of Parliament that Monk gave a decisive answer to the secret negotiator of the Stuarts, and assured the king of his entire devotion. For Monk was now at the goal of his wishes; he had hitherto done almost nothing; but by this very conduct had done everything to solve the political problem. By his procrastination all appeared to come in the natural course of events. Seldom has Providence confided such an important decision to a mortal hand, as to that of Monk. He was enabled

to profit by the experience of the Long Parliament, to avoid its fatal errors in Church and State, and to give counsel, which, from his lips, was almost a precept. But Monk had chosen a low standard. This accomplished prosaic hypocrite, who destroyed to its very foundations the work of the fantastic hypocrite, Cromwell, was fully aware of the insatiable rapacity of those princely races to whom, as has been remarked, to have enough is equivalent to starvation. He was resolved that no cloud should obscure the gratitude he expected from the only quarter for which he had prepared the rapture of illusion. He, therefore, did not fix any one of the disputed constitutional questions, and the counsel which he gave on a few urgent concerns of the moment was enveloped in a form which did homage to the most ruinous prejudice, as if the restoration of a crown or of a wise government were synonymous terms. This counsel, as far as it went, was in other respects well suited to the state of affairs. An amnesty with few or no exceptions, liberty of conscience, confirmation of the sales of sequestrated property, and the payment of the arrears due to the army —these offers and proposals were communicated, but only verbally, and under the veil of secrecy, to Brussels, in the Spanish Netherlands, where Charles then resided. The effect on the prince and his followers was incredible. "What!" said they, "the crown offered—and, which is almost equal to the heavenly crown, without conditions!"

Meantime, the parliamentary elections were proceeding with the utmost activity. Each party was sensible of the immense importance of this crisis. The presbyterians did not fail to perceive that the

restoration of royalty, which would probably soon take place, would be accompanied with that of episcopacy; but such is human nature, that the main concern—the yearning after royalty—caused the majority of electors to throw all other considerations into the background; and thus uncompromising royalists, i. e. cavaliers or presbyterians of the most moderate sentiments, were elected. In this turn of affairs, the Commonwealth once more lifted its arm. A body of men released Lambert from the Tower: he hastened to Warwick, where a large assemblage of republicans collected around him; but when they came to action, some abandoned him, and others threw down their arms, and Lambert returned to the Tower on the evening before the opening of the new Parliament.

April 25. When it met on the appointed day, a House of Peers constituted itself by its own authority, as a matter of course. Monk being applied to on the subject, cautiously replied, that it was not for him to decide on such claims.

Sir John Granville, the king's negotiator, now came forward. He presented himself to the council of state, and was allowed to deliver the Royal letters addressed

May 1. to each of the two Houses of Parliament. To those letters a document was added, drawn up at Breda in Holland, in which King Charles engaged to grant a general amnesty, liberty of conscience, to recognise the validity of all grants, sales and purchases of estates, so far as they should be approved by Parliament; the king, being only a constituent part of the Parliament, did not bind himself to any guarantees; only the arrears of pay due to the army were promised without any reservation.

The two Houses immediately resolved, that according to the ancient and fundamental laws of England, the Government is in King, Lords, and Commons, and that therefore their prince should be invited to come and receive the crown, which was his by right of inheritance. They sent 50,000*l.* to the king, 10,000*l.* to the Duke of York, and 5000*l.* to the Duke of Gloucester. At the same time the Royal arms were restored, the king's name reinserted in the Church service, and it was ordered that the beginning of his reign should be dated from the day of his father's death, so that the first year of his reign was reckoned for the twelfth. A deputation of both Houses was sent to Breda. Prynne who had recovered his seat in the House, and the celebrated Sir Matthew Hale, in vain attempted in this decisive moment to recommend some attention to the interests of the people. The proposal to take the concessions made by Charles I. in 1648 as a basis, and to found on it a permanent settlement between the Crown and Parliament was decidedly opposed by Monk. He declared that if there were any delay, he could no longer answer for the public tranquillity; that there was no time for such an investigation, which threatened to revive all the discord of preceding years. "The king" said he, "comes alone; what have you to fear from a prince who has neither money to bribe, nor soldiers to coerce you? If restrictions are necessary, why not wait for his arrival?"

On the 25th of May King Charles arrived at Dover with the royal fleet, and was received on his landing by General Monk, at the head of the nobility. On the 29th, which was his birth-day, he made his so- May 29
lemn entry into the capital, amidst the acclamations

of the people. His own breast secretly thrilled with joy at the consciousness that no part of the Royal power had been given up. He hoped that he should easily get rid of the tattered fragments of Magna Charta which the Tudors had left. The bleeding head of his father was nowhere more seldom thought of than at Whitehall, where it had fallen on the scaffold.

CHAPTER VII.

The last two Stuarts.

1660—1688.

CHARLES II.

1660—1685.

CHARLES had attained the thirty-first year of a life in which there had been but few days of labour. He habitually indemnified himself for the slightest exertion, by indulging freely in the intoxicating draught of pleasure; while the few good resolutions which he formed were soon lost amidst a crowd of beautiful courtezans, and never after recovered. If he, from time to time, graciously acknowledged his faults, he believed that he had performed a work of supererogation. Sir Edward Hyde, his chancellor, was therefore invaluable to him: he was a man of long-tried fidelity and judgment, who was never weary of ordering and governing, and who willingly took every burthen upon himself, provided he were only permitted, as far as possible, to have his own way. Hyde, or, as we will rather at once call him, Lord Clarendon, diligently struck the iron while it was hot, and easily obtained for the king an annual revenue of 1,200,000*l.*, among the sources of which was the excise, which had been introduced to pay the ex- 1660.

pences of the parliamentary war against Charles I. He obtained extraordinary grants for discharging the arrears of pay to the soldiers; and when this had been accomplished, he effected with great judgment the disbanding of the standing army in all the three kingdoms, a measure absolutely necessary for the public tranquillity. Only two regiments, one of infantry and one of cavalry, remained in service as guards. The extremely difficult question of the Church was settled by the re-establishment in the first place of the Anglican Church, which the chancellor of Charles I. still considered as the peculiar support of the throne. At the same time, however, the king promised that a reform should be made in the episcopacy; that the power of the bishops should be so far restricted, that they should be bound at least to consult their chapters and presbyters; he likewise engaged that regard should be so far paid to the religious scruples of the presbyterians, that subscription to the thirty-nine articles, the oath of canonical obedience, and other points should not be generally required. Thus many presbyterians persuaded themselves that this reformed episcopacy would not be that corrupt institution in opposition to which they had staked their lives, and some of them were even induced to accept bishoprics. But when the time came to confirm the Royal declaration by an express law, Clarendon did his utmost that the proposal might not be carried in the House of Commons, which in fact rejected it by a majority of 312 to 28, and thus the Church was reinstated in all its rights and benefices. It was prohibited to publish any thing against its doctrines; the episcopal power was unlimited as formerly; and what

remained of presbyterianism was left to the discretion of the Government. But the meaning of this discretion was evident to all, when, in the following year, every person newly appointed to any office was required to receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the rites of the Church of England; and still more so, when in the third year of the Restoration the Act of Uniformity was passed, by which 2000 presbyterian clergymen lost their livings. Scotland was also deprived of its free religious constitution, and was again placed under a hierarchy. The fate of Ireland may be easily inferred.

The Cavaliers openly rejoiced at this result, which was deplored by the true friends of religion. In other respects they were proportionably discontented. They thought that prosecutions, punishments, and executions did not proceed rapidly enough; and above all, that there was a want of gratitude in indemnifying and rewarding the faithful adherents of the king. The state of things was unfortunately such, that it was impossible to remedy, by legal means, their principal grievances, which they justly brought forward on every occasion. The revolution had made many rich persons poor, and many poor suddenly rich; but an immense difference had taken place, above all, in landed property. With respect to the lands of the crown and the clergy which had been sold, nothing could be objected in point of right against the demand to restore them. Every purchaser probably calculated that revolutions were usually followed by counter-revolutions, and paid a price for his purchase in proportion to the danger which he incurred; and if the estate had passed in

good faith into a third hand, the state of the case remained the same. This principle was accordingly acted upon; but it was not rigorously enforced in the execution, except by the clergy of the Established Church. The Crown, on the whole, suffered equity and forbearance to prevail, and for the most part retained the purchasers as tenants. The position of the royalists, who had lost their estates, was more complicated. It is true that the re-instatement of those among them whose lands had been sequestrated, met with no legal objections; but these were comparatively few in number. The majority had either sold their properties voluntarily, to assist the king in his pecuniary difficulties, or to equip themselves; or they had afterwards been necessitated to part with them for their own maintenance, towards the close of the war, and to pay the heavy fines which were imposed upon the royalists. Nothing could be done for these men, and they languished in pining discontent and indigence. Hence their loud cry of indignation when the Bill of Indemnity, enacting oblivion and impunity for the past, was published, which truly contained exceptions enough, though the Commons had succeeded in modifying, in some degree, the revengeful eagerness of the Lords: but the former exclaimed, "This may well be called a law of oblivion and impunity; for loyalty is forgotten, and treason is unpunished."

Of the king's judges, all of whom were excluded from the Bill of Indemnity, forty-eight were still alive. Nineteen, among whom was Ludlow, had fled beyond the seas; and his memoirs throw much light upon these times. Some were arrested on their

flight, and twenty voluntarily surrendered upon the king's proclamation, which declared that such of the late King's judges as did not surrender themselves within fourteen days should be absolutely excluded from the king's pardon. An Act of Parliament declared the fugitives to be convicted, while the remainder were tried by an extraordinary court appointed by the Crown. This court consisted of thirty-four commissioners, and Clarendon, as chancellor, presided. Among the commissioners was Monk, recently created Earl of Albemarle, together with many who had combated Charles I. either in the field or in Parliament. All the king's murderers, as they were called, were found guilty and condemned to death; but, in conformity with the Bill of Indemnity, the execution of those who had voluntarily surrendered, was deferred for the future decision of Parliament, with the exception of Scrope. This Act of Parliament included, besides the king's judges, some other principal culprits as excepted from the amnesty. No one was more eager than Prynne to increase the number of these exceptions. He would willingly have had Richard Cromwell, and still more all the republicans, put upon the list. "They must all be placed among the exceptions," said he, "and whoever opposes it is guilty of the king's blood." John Milton, also, was in great danger in these days. Only ten of the condemned persons were executed, among whom was Harrison, as one of the regicides, and Coke, as the king's accuser. They all died with firmness; and most of them boasted of the deed, as having been accomplished, to the best of their knowledge, in conformity with the will of God and the Holy Scriptures,

1660. October.

and without all rancour. Some of them with credulous confidence prophesied the downfal of royalty in the year 1666, and the restoration of liberty. The Parliament, however, did not deviate from the course upon which it had entered. Shortly before its dissolution, which took place at the end of the year, it
1661. Jan. 30. passed a resolution against Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw; and the anniversary of the king's execution disclosed a fearful sight. The corpses of these three men were torn from their graves, and dragged to Tyburn, where they were taken out of their coffins, and, though half decomposed, hung upon a gibbet, where they were exposed during the day, a welcome spectacle to the Cavaliers. In the evening they were taken down and beheaded; the bodies were buried at the foot of the gallows, and the heads exhibited on
Sept. poles in front of Westminster Hall. In the sequel, about twenty bodies were removed by the king's order from Westminster Abbey, and buried in St. Margaret's churchyard; among them, were those of Cromwell's mother and of his favourite daughter — of Pym, and of the renowned naval hero Blake. When the new Parliament began with executions, and desired to get rid of all the prisoners at once, the king himself interfered: "I am tired of this hanging," said he to the Chancellor; "let the bill remain with the Parliament, that it may not be brought to me, for you know I cannot grant these men a pardon." The proceedings against Sir Harry Vane and General Lambert, although neither of them were among the regicides, were, however, taken up on the repeated request of the Lower House. Lambert behaved with pusillanimous timidity, and without a trace of the in-

trepid general and republican: he sought and obtained the king's pardon, and was banished to the island of Guernsey, where he cultivated flowers, and amused himself with painting. Sir Harry Vane, on the contrary, spoke with great boldness in his defence against the accusation of treason to Charles II., because he had served the Commonwealth as a member of the Council of State. "A man," he said "was no traitor for serving the highest authority in the state, which at that time was unquestionably in the Parliament, after it had triumphed, in combating for a cause sacred in the eyes of God and man." The commissioners replied by affirming, that in order to constitute a legal Parliament, the king was indispensable; that this king, upon his father's death, was Charles II., not only *de jure* but *de facto*, for nobody except him had laid claim to the Crown. The cause of Vane's ruin, independently of his high spirit and unusual abilities as a statesman, was the circumstance of his having produced, twenty-one years before, a document which, in the public opinion, had occasioned the condemnation of the Earl of Strafford. The heads of the first and of the last victims of the revolution fell on the same place on Tower Hill; for, with Vane closed the series of executions which had commenced with Strafford. 1662. June 14.

The king, for a period of eight years together, had tolerated the influence of an able minister, when Clarendon fell into disgrace. Many circumstances combined to render odious the administration of this statesman, who was sincerely devoted to the interests of the Stuarts, and who well merited the immense power which he loved and possessed. A dreadful 1665.

plague broke out in the summer, and carried off
1666. 100,000 of the inhabitants of London. In the following summer, a vast conflagration destroyed 13,000 houses and 89 churches, nearly two thirds of the capital; and what was almost, if possible, still worse, the desperate and infatuated multitude attributed the
1667. fire to the papists. A twelvemonth afterwards, the Dutch fleet entered the Thames, took and burnt many first-rate English men-of-war, including the Royal Charles, in which the king had come over from Holland; for Charles had, without sufficient reason, commenced a war with that republic. Many battles were fought, which redounded to the glory of the English arms; but these triumphs passed almost unheeded, for they took place during the melancholy period of the plague, and afterwards when disasters occurred, disappointment and rancour prevailed, and vented themselves in religious persecutions. The popish priests were again threatened with death; penalties against Roman Catholic recusants were renewed; the presbyterian conventicles were treated with almost equal severity, and an act of parliament, called the Five Mile Act, was passed, prohibiting the non-conformist clergy from approaching within that distance of an English town. The culpable readiness of Clarendon to favour the tyranny of the Established Church was, perhaps, the only popular part of his administration.

The war with Holland was carried on with vigour; and even when France took part with the Dutch, the courage of the English was not relaxed, but on comparing the past and the present a decided retrogression was evident. Was England still at that height of

power which Cromwell had obtained for it? Cromwell acquired Dunkirk; Charles sold it to France, and spent the price on his lawless pleasures. Cromwell humbled the Dutch; Charles concluded peace with them, on the basis of the *status quo*, relaxed some points of the Act of Navigation, and gave the Dutch cause to boast that their commerce was five times as great as that of England. All these discontents were unregarded by the merry monarch, but they affected the reputation of Clarendon; and the king was often displeased that, while his own debts were daily augmenting, the palace which his minister was building increased in splendour and magnificence. This was the time for the sycophants to nestle about the king and insinuate themselves into his confidence. "The Chancellor," they said, "took bribes." This was so far true, inasmuch as he readily received the gifts which an ancient, though pernicious custom, attached to his office; "that he was continually acting the part of a Mentor to Charles," though history blames him for too often serving the king at the expense of the state; lastly that, "in a delicate affair, he had merely assumed the mask of a modest and honest man." Amidst the incessant cares which his faithful labours for the restoration of the royal house, laid upon him, Clarendon, it seems, had forgotten to pay due attention to the conduct of his daughter Anne. Though entirely devoid of personal beauty, her understanding and amiable character had gained the heart of the Duke of York, and he had privately married her, while maid of honour to his sister, the Princess of Orange, about six months before the restoration of his house. But shortly before the birth of an

infant the secret was made known. On the first disclosure of the fact, the royal family, especially the queen mother, were greatly exasperated. But when James remained faithful, and Anne refuted every calumny, the king acknowledged her as Duchess of York. No blame was at that time attached to her father, who had been ignorant of the affair, and who, on being informed of it, had even entreated the king to send her to the Tower. Now, however, his conduct was represented as dissimulation; and it was further insinuated to the king, that the Chancellor had purposely brought him a queen who could not have any offspring, in order that his own grandchildren might ascend the throne. It appears that Charles gave little or no heed to all these insinuations; but Clarendon had become obnoxious to him by his ascendancy, and thus the Chancellor's enemies ultimately obtained their object. The duke was obliged to inform his father-in-law that he must tender his resignation, in order to avoid prosecution and dismissal from his office; but when Clarendon, justly conscious of his innocence, told the king that he would not resign on those terms, he was required to deliver up the great seal. Charles was unwilling to have the living witness of his ingratitude in his sight, and therefore caused him to be advised to quit England. When Clarendon refused likewise to follow this intimation, an express order was brought him by the Duke of York; and in the same rough and tempes-
Nov. 29. tuous night, the aged and infirm Chancellor was compelled to flee with two servants to Erith, whence he embarked for France. On the 3d of December an apology, under the name of a humble petition and

address from the ex-chancellor, was presented to the House of Lords, who communicated it to the Commons, and the Parliament crowned all the king's wishes; by ordering it to be publicly burnt by the common hangman. The two Houses then passed a bill, banishing him for life, and even encroached on the royal prerogative by making his pardon depend upon an Act of Parliament. His earnest and repeated entreaties for permission to return were not complied with, and he never saw his native land again. He finished in France his History of the Rebellion, the composition of which he had undertaken at the instance of the unfortunate Charles I. His weak attachment to that sovereign may be easily excused; but throughout his whole work, and in his ministerial conflicts — sometimes with the acrimonious Roman Catholics, sometimes with the obstinate Presbyterians, the gloomy republicans, the rapacious cavaliers, and the intriguing mistresses, — we see not the slightest traces of a man who had in view a grand plan of union. He desired to have every thing brought back to the system of the haughty Tudors, to reduce the Church to complete subordination; and, when this was accomplished, indulgence and justice were to prevail. His son-in-law could do nothing for him, but rather added to the weight of his sorrows, by the heavy affliction of inducing the Duchess of York to embrace the Roman Catholic religion. He died at Rouen on the 9th of December, 1671. His grand-daughters, Mary and Anne, both ascended the English throne.

Clarendon's ministry was succeeded by one nicknamed "the Cabal," an epithet which it richly deserved from its conduct to that minister, and which

it continued to merit throughout, but which originated from the accidental circumstance that the initial letters of the names of the five ministers composed that word. At its head was the Duke of Buckingham, son of the notorious Buckingham, who had first misled the unhappy race of the Stuarts into their career of ruin—a man who exceeded his father in all that was base and depraved. Under such guides disappeared even loyalty itself, with which it is otherwise usual to palliate all that is odious; for these men were as ready occasionally to betray the king to the people, as they were, on system, to betray the people to the king: and if, in this midnight firmament of common-place, a bright meteor happened to appear, they were not easy till every thing was again involved in darkness. Such was the case when Sir William Temple appeared at
1668. the Hague, and concluded with De Witt the celebrated triple alliance, which checked for a short time the ambitious plans of Louis XIV. The course of English policy was at that time too clearly marked out to be mistaken. It was above all things necessary for England and Holland to be strictly united. The manly character of the De Witts, and, after their ruin, the firmness of the young Prince of Orange, the king's nephew, rendered it possible to obtain great successes. But to this pleasure-loving monarch, and these clever reckless ministers, six weeks passed in pursuing an honourable course, appeared much too long a time. The king ever wanted more and more money: to apply continually to the Commons, was not pleasant, for the necessity of the case must be proved to them; severe remarks would be made, for the first blind enthusiastic love of royalty had been long since dispelled. How much more convenient would

it be to receive this pecuniary aid annually from France, which had long given hints of its willingness, and then to apply a portion of it in the purchase of votes in the Lower House, in order the more easily to obtain supplies! It was necessary, therefore, formally to apologise for the triple alliance to Louis, who immediately understood the state of the case, and was only startled that such vast concessions were proposed in return for his money: not merely the easy sacrifice of honour and policy, but even that of religion was offered. The proposition to this effect originated with the Duke of York. This prince, who indefatigably attended to the minutest details of naval affairs, who was a good economist, and, in domestic life, if not free from reproach, was yet without scandal, while in matters of religion he was narrow-minded yet conscientious, confessed to his brother that he was a Roman Catholic, and intended publicly to declare himself such. A strong mind goes far with a few principles of faith; but a weak mind is prone to believe much. The king had been previously aware of his brother's religious opinions, and did not conceal from him that the Romish church had also great attractions for himself. The ministers were sounded: two of them were found to be Roman Catholics; the others placed their faith at his majesty's disposal. "Let us at once have a public declaration," urged James. But the experienced Louis saw the matter in a far different light. He informed the king that a precipitate declaration might cost him his crown, and perhaps his life; because nine tenths of the English detested the Roman Catholic creed: that religious discord was furious,

and resistless as a volcano; that there would be an insurrection in the capital, nay, throughout the whole kingdom. What could the king do, with so small an army and so few friends? Yet Charles persisted: he desired to settle the question of religion first of all; and because it was possible that an insurrection might break out, he proposed that France should assist him with two millions of livres, and, if required, with 6000 men, who should be brought over in English ships, be under English officers, but in French pay. As soon as this was done it should depend on the king of France, when the war should begin with Holland, which, ungrateful to the authors of its existence, pretended to act the mediator between all potentates. In this war England was to furnish an auxiliary corps of 6000 or, at the least, 4000 men, with fifty ships of war, which, with thirty French vessels, were to be under the command of the Duke of York; and France was to pay, during the war, an annual subsidy of three million livres. A convention was drawn up to this effect, the original of which, after being long preserved in secret in the possession of the descendants of those ministers, was first published in Lingard's work. Had this treaty been carried into effect, the history of the government of the Stuarts would doubtless have terminated with the year 1670. But probably the danger became evident to the king as soon as the matter was placed solely in his hands; and those ministers who were aware of it (for only a few were admitted into the secret) were perhaps not very easy about it: they threw obstacles in the way, caused a difference between the king and the Duke of York; and as Charles was just then

1670. May 22.

contemplating a divorce, in the hope of having a legal posterity, a return to the bosom of the Romish church was quite inopportune at that moment. Thus Louis, who had at heart above all things a war with Holland, obtained his will. "*La grande affaire*," as he mystically called it, was about to run into the fair haven of accomplishment. He clearly foresaw the certain disgrace of England, and the probable ruin of the Free Netherlands. Charles deferred his change of religion, but silently made preparations for war. If it was in itself an absurd purpose, to give up to the most dangerous ambition that glorious republic which had lately become his ally, whose preservation, precisely at that juncture, was especially necessary: it was peculiarly disgraceful in one who himself would not pass for a Roman Catholic, to act in this manner towards Protestants; yet the misguided prince, by the way in which he went to work, fixed on himself two indelible stains: for, before war was declared, he suddenly attacked, like a pirate, a rich fleet of Dutch merchantmen, which came from Smyrna, and was valued at 1,500,000*l*., but which, after all, escaped him; and he had acted not much more honourably towards his own subjects a few months previously. The principal merchants of the City had been long accustomed to deposit large sums for security, in the Royal Mint in London, and thus there arose, in the most natural way, a kind of bank of circulation, by writing off and entering sums, till in 1638, Charles I., in his increasing pecuniary difficulties, had laid hands on this treasury of the merchants, and took out 200,000*l*. as a loan. Though he replaced it in a few months, the merchants did not afterwards trust the Mint, and preferred

1672. March.

placing their monies with bankers, who dealt in gold and silver, and resided in well-secured houses. They were inscribed in the Goldsmiths' Company, and were generally called by that name. The business of the Giro bank, which was thus again formed, furnished the goldsmiths with means to make large loans to Cromwell, and also to private persons. In the course of time they gave to any one who deposited ready money in their hands, six per cent. interest, and made immense profits; for Charles II. paid them eight and even ten per cent. The yearly interest of the national debt amounted at that time to about 100,000*l.* The goldsmiths had a claim of 1,300,000*l.* Thus matters stood till the time when the king tried every means to increase his pecuniary resources for carrying on the Dutch war. All on a sudden (Jan. 2.) a proclamation was issued by the Exchequer, which declared that the safety of the kingdom required that, for the present, no payments of capital from the Treasury should be made, but that interest at six per cent. should be paid. The whole measure was to continue in force only a twelvemonth, and not to be renewed on any terms: but even that was not fulfilled; on the contrary, it was prolonged for another half year, and the crown never completely performed its engagements. Thus the king commenced a war with an unconstitutional act, which gave a severe blow to public credit. A number of wealthy families were ruined by it, and many persons who lived on their interest, among whom were widows and orphans, were reduced to the utmost distress.

1673. Jan. 2.

This second war with Holland was avenged in many ways on its English authors. William of Orange ob-

tained, through the necessity of the times, the office of Stadtholder, and the Cabal ministry was overthrown by the long-suppressed indignation of the parliament. Perhaps nothing rendered this ministry more odious than the only measure which would have done it honour, if it had proceeded from a pure source. This was the March 15. declaration of indulgence, which appeared, without the assent of parliament, at the same time as the declaration of war. According to all the documents that we have before us, it cannot be doubted that its secret object, was to prepare the way for the open profession of the Roman Catholic religion by the king. It was drawn up in a style worthy of the subject. The king declares, that "Twelve years' experience had convinced him of the inefficacy of coercion in matters of religion. He therefore felt it to be his duty to make use of the supreme power in ecclesiastical matters, inherent in him, and confirmed by acts of parliament. He declares it to be his will that the Church of England be preserved, and remain entire in her doctrine, discipline, and government, as by law established: that the execution of all penal laws in matters ecclesiastical, against whatsoever non-conformists or recusants, shall be immediately suspended: that to remove the danger of conventicles, such a sufficient number of places as may be desired, shall be from time to time allowed in all parts of the kingdom, for the use of such as do not conform to the Church of England, to meet and assemble in, in order to their public worship and devotion: that this indulgence as to the allowance of public places of worship is not to extend to the recusants of the Roman Catholic religion, who shall merely be exempt from the execution

of the penal law, and have the exercise of their worship in their private houses only."

The sensation which the latter clause especially, excited in England was general. Distrust of the plans of the Jesuits was ever on the watch, and men did not lose sight of the presumptive heir to the throne. The Duke of York had not partaken of the Lord's Supper with the king for two years; and it was reported that the Duchess, Clarendon's daughter, had refused, on her death-bed, the consolations of the established church, and declared that she had become a convert to the Roman Catholic religion. It was observed, too, that it began to be considered fashionable to
1673. Feb. embrace the Popish faith on the approach of death. The Lower House took up the matter in a political light; held out hopes to the king of a large subsidy; and declared that it was not unwilling to grant relief to the Protestant dissenters, on condition that all should be done by parliament; that the king had the right to pardon when the law had been violated, but by no means the right to suspend, even in ecclesiastical matters, the execution of a law. They agreed to a resolution that "penal laws in all matters ecclesiastical cannot be suspended but by act of parliament." The king made a show of resistance. "Concessions," said the Duke of York, "ruined our father; now the question affects the safety of the son." But Colbert, the French ambassador, remonstrated. "Every thing," he said, "depended on there being no breach with the parliament at present: that there would be time enough after the war, to regain all rights, in which his king would assist in word and deed." Charles re-
March. called the declaration of indulgence; but the parlia-

ment followed up its victory, and did not rest till an act had been passed by which, in future, the pure faith of every person holding any public office, as enjoined by the established church, was, as it were, put to the test; whence it was called the Test Act. No person was to hold an office, either civil or military, who refused to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy, and to receive the Lord's Supper according to the rites of the Church of England, and likewise formally to renounce the doctrine of transubstantiation. Even the Protestant Dissenters supported this bill, though it threatened them equality with the Papists: but their fear of a return to Popery decided them. A prospect was, besides, held out to them of a special law, which should improve their position; but before this law could be passed, the king, who had obtained his subsidies, prorogued the parliament, and thus the proposed toleration became the very reverse. The Dissenters as well as the Papists were now excluded from all public employments.

The Duke of York would not take the oath prescribed by the Test Act, resigned the office of lord high admiral, and married the young Princess Mary of Modena. His tenets were now evident. The parliament remonstrated against this Popish connection, when the king replied, that it had already been concluded by proxy. The parliament was not yet satisfied, and desired to remove all Roman Catholics from both Houses. But the king prevented any further proceedings by a prorogation. James, however, was obliged to have his eldest daughter, Mary, confirmed according to the rites of the established church. Nov. 4.

In the year 1674 the cabinet, contrary to its en- 1674. Feb.

gagement with France, concluded a separate peace with Holland. The Cabal ministry necessarily fell when the House of Commons demanded an account concerning the war. In this exigency Sir William Temple was remembered, and sent for. When bad men have ruined every thing in a course of years, an honest man is expected to make all good again in a moment. In this expectation Temple was tolerated. The king heard, for the first time, the voice of truth. Sir William observed, that it was an error to believe that England could be governed in the same manner as France, where only the clergy and nobility had any weight, while the oppressed and miserable people had neither rights nor will. He reminded the king, of Gourville, the Frenchman, whom Charles esteemed, and who was acquainted with England, and repeated the remarks which that gentleman had made at Brussels during the first Dutch war, the substance of which was that the king must make peace if his parliament were tired of war. Gourville, he said, had added "A king of England who is willing to be the man of his people is the greatest king in the world; but as soon as he attempts to be more, par Dieu! he is nothing." The king's choler rose, but he mastered his passion, laid his hand upon that of Temple, and said, "You
Feb. are right, and Gourville was right. I will be the man of my people." Temple now speedily concluded peace. The honour of the flag was yielded to England. "An honourable peace," wrote the king to the parliament. Where so much of real honour was lost, it was natural to be more tenacious of the semblance.

Appearances were also preserved in the new and

more disgraceful connection which the king now formed with France. Charles dreaded many mortifications from the next session of parliament, but he was inclined to submit to them, for he wanted money. The Duke of York, on his part, was afraid of being excluded from the succession to the throne, and therefore wished that parliament should not meet. Louis XIV., who was still engaged in war, was of the same mind; he fancied that parliament might easily change his unfaithful ally into an enemy, if it made the grant of supplies to depend on itself. Congenial wishes easily meet, and the Duke of York undertook the office of negociator. Charles demanded 400,000*l.* sterling, then abated 100,000*l.*, and at last accepted from Louis 500,000 crowns, and put off the session till the following year: but it was only an evil deferred; for, when on the opening of the session in the following spring, 1675. it appeared that some thousand English troops continued in French pay, and were employed against the Dutch, under the command of the Duke of Monmouth, a natural son of the king's, such a storm arose in the Lower House that many members were seen ready to draw their swords against each other. This storm was, however, suddenly succeeded by an unaccountable calm, produced, it is said, by a well-timed bribery of the leading members; and the king was so elated, that a Bill was urged on his part which should put an end to all active resistance of men in office, to encroachments of the royal power, and substitute passive obedience instead. To this end a second oath was contrived for all persons holding official situations, called the non-resisting test; but it was impossible not to foresee what a concatenation of evil consequences must

ensue, if blind obedience were in future to bind these men to the crown, and accordingly a violent debate arose, which continued for seventeen days. The king, agreeably to an ancient usage which he had re-introduced, was always present in person in the Upper House. He took his seat near the fire-place. Nothing was yet decided, when a dispute arose whether the Upper House was entitled, in its capacity as the highest judicial authority, to summon members of the Lower House when judicial proceedings made it necessary, which inflamed the two Houses against each other to
June 9. such a degree, that the king prorogued the parliament, and that dangerous attempt was not afterwards resumed.

After all this experience, and as the king was advancing in years, and grew more fond of ease, he was highly gratified when the French ambassador intimated, that it would not be difficult to obtain a regular pension from his sovereign. 100,000*l.* was the sum stipulated, and this was occasionally increased to
1677. 200,000*l.* Louis, having caught his bird, suffered him to flutter by a slack thread, as long as he took, on the whole, the prescribed direction. When Charles gave
1678. his eldest niece, the daughter of the Duke of York, in marriage to the Prince of Orange, his apologies were accepted; but it was very different when a sense of his royal dignity once came across him; and to save Holland, he suddenly called his English troops from the service of the conqueror, sent reinforcements to them, and ordered the whole to join the Dutch, to the unspeakable joy of the Prince of Orange. Just at that time 50,000*l.* were due, which Louis kept back, not, however, desiring to save his money, for he

knew other hands in England which longed for it; and Barillon, his ambassador at London, employed it so successfully with the leaders of the opposition, giving to one 300 and to another 500 guineas, that the king's proposal to fix his annual revenue, once for all, at 300,000*l.* sterling was rejected. Thus the parliament missed the opportunity of rescuing their king from those shameful shackles, the existence of which, if it could not be directly proved, yet could not possibly be unknown to it, as the king's mistresses were acquainted with them, and most of the members of the Cabal ministry were now in the ranks of the opposition.

Among these, Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, surpassed all the others in talent; though small and frail in body, he had a large and impetuous spirit. He loved liberty, but he demanded power as the reward of his exertions in its service. When liberty and power were divided, he remained faithful to power. Thus had Cromwell found him, and disarmed his opposition by giving him a seat in his council of state. Afterwards, Cooper seized the propitious moment, laboured in secret for the restoration of the Stuarts, and was an active member of the court that tried the regicides. His reward did not fail him: he was appointed minister, and created Earl of Shaftesbury, and never deserted his colleagues, when encroachments were to be justified. He cared little about religion, but, as a prudent statesman, he was opposed to the popish zeal of the Duke of York, to his jesuitical connections, and to his marriage with the Princess of Modena. No sooner, however, had the king committed the unpardonable mistake, as Shaftesbury con-

ceived it to be, of taking from him the great seal, than he gave out everywhere in the metropolis, that his zeal for the Protestant religion drew on him the hatred of the Papists, and he placed himself at the head of the opposition in the House. His sparkling wit, his sarcastic dialectic converted the non-resisting Bill into an object of ridicule; he likewise published a bitter pamphlet, which the parliament condemned to be burnt as a libel. He was committed to the Tower, and not released till he consented, after a year's imprisonment, to acknowledge his error, and beg pardon on his knees, at the bar of the Upper House. He was hereby the more confirmed in his determination to fish in the stream of popularity for the jewel of power, of which he had been deprived. It is difficult to prove, and perhaps not even probable, that he forged from the beginning, and put together for the use of his tools, the facts which, under the name of the Popish plot, have obtained deplorable celebrity; but it is certain that Shaftesbury, and no other, reared this petty demon, with truly paternal affection, till it became such a formidable monster.

About the time when the Peace of Nimeguen
Aug. 12. allowed the king to resume his frivolous habits he happened to be walking in St. James's Park, when he was suddenly accosted by a stranger, and warned to retire, because his life was in danger. Upon inquiry, the man spoke of two persons who meant to shoot the king, and of a third, who was physician to the queen, who intended to poison him. All this he pretended to have learned from Dr. Tonge, a clergyman of the Church of England. The Doctor, being applied to, brought a parcel of papers, relating to a dangerous

conspiracy of the papists, which he said had been secretly thrust under his door, he knew not by whom, but he had his suspicions. Being still further pressed, he brought forward one Titus Oates, as the person from whom the papers came. The king, vexed at being interrupted, and by no means of a timid spirit, treated the whole affair as a contrivance of some worthless persons who wished to make themselves of importance. Lord Danby, the Treasurer, and the minister who at that time enjoyed the king's confidence, took up the matter in a different light: he was very glad of such an alarm of conspiracy, which might help him the more easily to get through a difficult session. The Duke of York decided the point; his chaplain was said to be implicated in the matter, and he demanded for his sake and for his own, that all the particulars should be laid before the Privy Council. Meantime, the affair had transpired: Titus Oates became the subject of general conversation in the capital; he was spoken of as the saviour of his country, and extolled as the man who had abjured his faith and joined the jesuits, for the purpose of tracing the most horrible of all conspiracies. "It has long been known," they said, "that the Roman Catholics set fire to London twelve years ago, and whoever entertains any doubts may read it inscribed in capital letters on the Monument, by Sir Christopher Wren, which has just been erected as a memorial of the fire. Now, however, thanks to Titus, the whole is more accurately known. None but the Jesuits are the incendiaries, who used seven hundred fire-balls to nourish that conflagration. It is now purposed to convert all the three kingdoms, and even Holland, to

the Roman Catholic religion, by fire and bloodshed. If Charles and his brother do not side with us, they must fall. All the parts are distributed. The pope has already issued a bull, in which all the future bishops of Great Britain are appointed."

Oct. 21. Such was the state of the public mind when the king opened the parliament: he briefly alluded to the conspiracy, observing that the ordinary tribunals would discover what credit was to be attached to it. The two Houses were not satisfied with this mere allusion to the plot: they closely examined the depositions, and conjured the king to banish all papists from court, and, if they were not settled inhabitants, from the capital, and to confide the supply of his table to Protestants. The result was, that they undertook the investigation themselves, and the Lords appointed a committee, with the Earl of Shaftesbury at its head. A guard was placed in the vaults of the Parliament House; chains were provided to draw across the streets; cannons were placed before Whitehall; and the train-bands, with the volunteers often amounting to many thousands, were kept for nights together under arms.

While Shaftesbury caused witnesses to be examined, and ordered innumerable domiciliary visits and arrests, so that in a short time nearly 2000 suspected persons, including five peers, were thrown into the city prisons, the two Houses rapidly proceeded in

Nov. 30. discussing and passing resolutions. The exclusion of the Roman Catholics from Parliament was now carried, and confirmed by the king. A new test oath was drawn up, which every member of parliament was to take. This oath contained an affirmation that

popery is idolatry. Upon this, one-and-twenty Roman Catholic peers withdrew from the Upper House. Some of them made a solemn declaration of their opinions; even the Duke of York protested, though a clause in the bill exempted him from the exclusion. Shaftesbury in the Peers, and Lord William Russell, son of the Duke of Bedford, in the Commons, did not rest till the king had persuaded his brother to withdraw, at least from the Privy Council. Shaftesbury could not venture to stop here, — he had mortally offended the prince, who was nearest to the throne; it was necessary to ruin him politically, to secure himself for the future. Another marriage of the king might change the succession. As the king refused any longer to listen to a divorce, in order that the mass of his sins against his unhappy queen might not be further augmented, he was to be compelled to a separation. The saviour of the country appeared at the bar of the Lower House, and, in a loud voice, exclaimed, "I, Titus Oates, accuse Catherine, Queen of England, of high treason." He, and another man named Bedlo, took an oath that they had overheard the queen give her consent to the Jesuits to murder the king. If the Lords had not refused their co-operation on this occasion, who can tell what might have been the fate of the queen? Shaftesbury protested against the decision of the House.

The king was not deceived by all these intrigues. He did not for a moment believe the conspiracy, and openly declared his conviction. He knew the mercenary instruments of the impostor, the perjured hypocrite, Oates, and the convicted highwayman, Bedlo; but no one better than the accomplished villain who had

contrived to use them as his tools. Charles was not deficient in acuteness of understanding, nor in energy to manifest it. When his dark, rigid features were illumined by a smile, accompanied with a flow of his natural eloquence, he was irresistible. He might have awakened the voice of reason and of conscience in the turbulent spirits, if he himself would have listened to it. The accusation of the queen afforded him a secure ground for the ruin of those evil-doers; but the soul of Charles was ever averse to all moral exertion. Though in heart a Roman Catholic, he sanctioned for years together, in order to regain the good opinion of his people, the sentences of death passed on his innocent Roman Catholic subjects for this conspiracy, without even making use of his privilege of granting a pardon: he did more, and ap-
1679. pointed Shaftesbury president of his new Privy Council, believing that he had accomplished a masterpiece of artful policy. But Shaftesbury saw through the king; he did not retreat one step from the career of popularity, and impetuously demanded the exclusion of the papist York from the succession to the throne.

Shaftesbury's recall to power was owing to the following circumstances. At the beginning of the new year, 1679, Charles dissolved his Parliament, with which he lived sometimes on good, and sometimes on bad terms, for eighteen years, from the second year of his reign. He had first experienced from it much that was gratifying, and then much that was unpleasant. When he could bear with it no longer, he had recourse to a prorogation; on one occasion this extended to fifteen months, and a dispute consequently arose in Parliament, whether this prorogation might

not be deemed equivalent to a dissolution. Charles preferred a known to an unknown evil. Now, however, he resolved on a dissolution, because the Parliament had in six different articles impeached Lord Danby of high treason, in consequence of the publication of a letter which brought to light an entirely new negotiation with Louis XIV. respecting an annual pension. The Parliament, as in duty bound, paid no regard to the king's own signature, which was in the following words: — "This letter is writ by my order, C. R." — but the more vehemently attacked the minister. Charles had no better success with the new Parliament. It renewed the attack upon Danby, who attempted to conciliate his enemies by concessions. The Duke of York was suddenly obliged to leave England and retire to Brussels: but it availed nothing. The king now declared himself ready to dismiss Danby; but desirous of saving him, he at the same time granted him a pardon — a pardon before inquiry or sentence! This was an attempt to quash the affair; and as such, the House of Commons considered it as an affront. During the debate, the important question was brought forward, whether the Crown had a right to pardon when the House of Commons had impeached. Even moderate members were of opinion that it was desirable that a law should in this case preclude pardon. Meantime, the Lords evaded the question of principle, and committed Lord Danby to the Tower. In this embarrassment, the king sent again for Sir William Temple, made a change, according to his rather abstruse ideas, in the constitution of the Privy Council, but greatly surprised him by appointing Lord Shaftesbury President.

On one point the king was firm—he would not hear of any change in the succession to the throne; this, the most sacred feeling of his heart, was here blended with his egotism. Royalty was, in his estimation, a never-dying institution in the state. The Parliament which excluded his brother, might aim at his own crown. In this spirit, he gave to the Duke, before his departure, a solemn assurance that affection for his son Monmouth should never induce him to endeavour to cover the stain upon his birth. He likewise summoned the Privy Council, and declared to it before Almighty God, that he had never concluded a marriage contract with any other woman than Queen Catherine, who was still living; he signed a document containing this declaration, caused the members of the Council to affix their signatures, and had it entered upon the journals. But Shaftesbury, who had ever been so successful, did not abandon his project; he fabricated fresh information of incendiarisms and conspiracies, while Lord Russell, in the Lower House, urged the bill of exclusion. Previous to its decision, the king proposed, in the Privy Council, several conciliatory measures, such as that an Act of Parliament should determine that, if a Roman Catholic came to the throne, the ecclesiastical power should be vested in the Protestant authority; that for this purpose the Parliament assembled at the change of the government should continue its sittings; that if it were not assembled, the one that last sat should immediately meet; and that even in this case, all appointments and dismissals of judges, privy-councillors, governors, and naval officers, should be made only with the sanction of the Parliament. But Shaftesbury said that this was an attempt to bind Samson with

green withes; that a king could easily break such frail fetters; but he could not prevent the majority of his colleagues from assenting to the king's proposition. The Peers, too, replied by an address of thanks. The Commons, however, were of a very different opinion. They did not scruple to circumscribe the extreme of possibility within the narrow limits of reality, by setting up as a principle, that the constituent power, inherent in Parliament, was unlimited, and that it extended to all objects relative to the public welfare, consequently even to the succession to the throne, and that it was not bound by any fundamental law. The bill declared the Duke of York disqualified from inheriting the crowns of Great Britain and Ireland; that upon the king's death or resignation, the sovereignty of these kingdoms should devolve upon the next Protestant heir, as if the Duke of York were dead. At the second reading of this bill, there was a majority in its favour of 79; and when it was ready for the last reading in the Lower House, May 27. Charles prorogued, and afterwards dissolved the Parliament. Before a new Parliament was assembled, Shaftesbury was dismissed by the king.

Though Shaftesbury was furious at this proceeding, yet his popularity increased by it; and he had reason to boast of having in this session accomplished a work which indissolubly unites the name of the most dangerous enemy of liberty with the history of the English Constitution: for the celebrated Act of Habeas Corpus was chiefly his work: this Act, it is true, established nothing that was new to English law, but, by the terms in which it is conceived, it made it more difficult for the organs of the Government to prac-

tise the modes of evading the law hitherto employed. For, from that time, the cases in which an Englishman may be arrested, and those in which bail is admissible, have been accurately defined. The order to discharge on bail is to be obtained at any time, even during the vacations. No keeper of a prison may receive a person arrested without a written order from the competent authority, stating the ground of his arrest. The prisoner cannot be taken to any prison out of his own county, still less beyond seas. On the complaint and request in writing by, or in behalf of, any person committed and charged with any crime, the Lord Chancellor or any one of the twelve judges shall issue a writ of Habeas Corpus, returnable before himself or any other of the judges; and the prisoner shall be brought up within a certain time, limited according to the distance, not exceeding in any case twenty days. Besides this most important statute for the protection of personal liberty, we will mention the Act of the first year of Charles's reign (12 Car. II. c. 24.), which abolished military tenures, which were one kind of free service, and changed them into the other services, namely, free and common soccage. Thus, one tenure in soccage was established for all lands held by free tenure, which comprehended all lands held of the king, or others, except tenures in copyhold and the honorary services of grand serjeantry; and it was enacted that all lands which should be granted by the king in future should be in free and common soccage. It is particularly provided in the Act which abolishes military tenures, that it shall not alter or change any tenure by copy of court roll, or any services incident thereto, nor take away the honorary services of grand serjeantry, other than charges

incident to tenure by knight's fees. It is in reference to these two laws that Charles Fox is able to say in his fragment of the history of the Stuarts, that their reign was the age of good laws and of a bad administration.

But it soon appeared how vast a difference there is, in this imperfect world, between the letter of the law and its execution. The fury of religious hatred would not suffer the Habeas Corpus Act to avail the martyrs of the popish plot. They continued to be imprisoned; and as soon as one sentence and execution had taken place, on testimony upon oath of persons notoriously infamous, similar proceedings were adopted against others, till at length above twenty persons were executed, including several jesuits who suffered death as conspirators, and eight Roman Catholic priests, among whom was one eighty-two years of age, were put to death, whose only crime was that they held office in that Church. A temporary suspension of the severities indeed followed, when a fellow named Dangerfield accused a number of Roman Catholic Lords of high treason, as it was felt to be too monstrous to give credit to the testimony of a villain who had been convicted of various crimes by sixteen different courts of justice. But the belief in Oates and his confederates was not destroyed. This was evident, when in the year 1680 Thomas Howard, Viscount Stafford, after two years' imprisonment in the Tower, without even being allowed a hearing, was brought before the House of Lords, to be tried on the 69th anniversary of his birth-day, and condemned to death upon such testimony, by a majority of 55 to 31. "May God," said Stafford, "forgive those who have sworn falsely against me." When standing upon the

scaffold on Tower Hill, he addressed the people and protested his innocence. The crowd listened respectfully with their heads uncovered: "We believe you, my Lord; God bless you, my Lord!" and dispersed, after his head had fallen, in mournful silence. The impression was great and permanent. From this time, the executions in England ceased till 1681, when Oliver Plunkett, the Roman Catholic titular Bishop of Armagh, was beheaded on an English scaffold for a pretended Irish conspiracy. The witnesses for his defence did not arrive till three days after his condemnation. He was accused of having formed an army of 70,000 men, though he did not possess an income of 70*l*. "I cannot pardon you," said Charles, "because I dare not."

1679. Oct. On the dismissal of Shaftesbury the king assembled his new Parliament, but prorogued it soon after for a whole twelvemonth, because he hoped to be able in the meanwhile to make a fresh bargain with Louis XIV. This time, however, he was disappointed; for Barillon wrote to his sovereign that Charles had fallen so much in public estimation that it was not worth while to spend any thing more upon him; that presents to the popular party would lead more easily and cheaply to the proposed object of weakening England by internal agitation. The embarrassment of the king was instantly perceived and taken advantage of. He had already once recalled his brother, and then
1680. sent him away to Scotland. As James now appeared again in England, Shaftesbury preferred a charge against him as a recusant. The king was immediately overwhelmed with importunate petitions to call a parliament. Meantime, however, through the medium

of his mistress, the Duchess of Portsmouth, large grants of money were offered, and the free choice of a successor left to him, as it had been to Henry VIII., on condition of his assenting to the Bill of Exclusion; for the House of Commons, on opening the session, had at once resolved again to take up this matter. James was now obliged to depart for the third time, and the king apparently entered into their offers of money, asked for 800,000*l.*, then 600,000*l.*, promising, when this sum was granted, to exclude his brother. But Shaftesbury was not so easily to be deceived: "First the exclusion," he said, "and then the money." The negotiation was accordingly broken off, and the Bill of Exclusion passed the House of Commons on the third reading without a division. The Duke of Monmouth, who flattered himself that he was destined to inherit the crown, incautiously appeared in public with the royal arms on his carriage, without the cross bar which marked his illegitimate descent. But the Lords remained firm, and rejected the bill. It was in vain that Shaftesbury now urged in the Upper House the king's divorce and a second marriage, as the only means of insuring a peaceable succession. The king again rejected the proposition, and dissolved the Parliament, from which, under these circumstances, he could not hope for any grant.

Oct.

1681. Jan. 10.

The public mind became daily more agitated, and many persons apprehended a civil war. A contemporary writer says, "It is as if there were a comet in the heavens." The king proposed to summon a new Parliament at Oxford, far from the focus of faction: this remarkable circumstance also called to mind the times of Charles I. Yet no change was perceived in the

temper of the king: he was a master in dissimulation, and secretly enjoyed the little artifices of the great world. His good fortune, too, had already carried him through many difficulties, and, besides, he had still a last resource to fall back upon. His request to his brother James to return to the English Church, and thus procure tranquillity for him, failed to make an impression on this narrow-minded but conscientious prince. "Such a step," he replied, "would not only be against his conscience, but would fail in its object, for every one would perceive its hypocrisy." Charles, however, found another resource: he sent Churchill, afterwards Duke of Marlborough, an able man, who was in his private employ, to his former benefactor, Louis XIV., and the former connection with him was soon restored. Louis desired to rule in England, at his pleasure, but he did not desire a new revolution. Besides, he had many other plans in hand. It was the year in which he despoiled the ill-advised Germans of the city of Strasburg. He offered 2,000,000 livres payable on the spot, and 1,500,000 for each of the three following years, if his brother, the king of England, would suffer him to pursue his own course with regard to Spain. This time, however, all the arrangements were made verbally, in the strictest confidence, with Barillon. Of the king's counsellors only Hyde, the son of Clarendon, the duke's brother-in-law, and his faithful friend, were aware of the negotiation. This secrecy accounts for the fact that the ministers, under the impression that they must on any terms reconcile the king with the Parliament, were misled to such monstrous proposals for a com-

March. promise, as those which the Chancellor of the Exche-

quer brought forward in the Lower House. These are said to have been drawn up by Lord Halifax, nephew of Shaftesbury, but his most ardent opponent. According to these proposals, the duke was to be banished for life from the three kingdoms to a distance of five hundred miles. Should he survive Charles, he was to have the title, but only the title, of king, for the whole power of government was to be vested in the Princess of Orange as Regent, and after her in the Lady Anne; unless James should have a legitimate heir, who, if a Protestant, should, on attaining his majority, become Regent. As an additional security, it was added that all the influential Roman Catholics should be expressly named and banished; that every fraudulent concealment of their property should be inquired into; and their children educated in the Protestant religion. Though the cruelty of the last point might be very attractive to many blind zealots, all these proposals were rejected without a division. Had they been carried into effect, the dignity of the king would have been degraded by powerlessness, and by the ignominy of banishment; children would have been alienated from their fathers; the consciences of the people been troubled; and, as James's consent was not to be expected, England would have been involved in a civil war. The House, without any further discussion, returned to the Bill of Exclusion. The king, who was doubtless prepared for this result, was in good spirits, and suddenly dissolved his new parliament, after it had sat only a week: this was his fifth and last parliament. A sufficient revenue was secured to him for the next four years, by his agree- Mar. 28.

ment with France; and he had accomplished all this by himself, without his ministers, and even without his mistress.

A royal proclamation having been issued and read from all the pulpits, setting before the people the conduct of the last two parliaments, and their obstinate rejection of every measure that had been tried to effect an arrangement, a surprising change in the public opinion took place. The excitement created by the popish plot had subsided, and it was more than ever evident that the Parliament was to blame for the innumerable arbitrary arrests which it had ordered. As the thick mist which enveloped these proceedings was now dispersed, it appeared that among the most zealous advocates for the Bill of Exclusion there were more Presbyterians than friends of the Anglican Church, and many who, in the restoration of the liberties of the people, had nothing less in view than "the good old cause;" that is to say, the subversion of the monarchy, and the re-establishment of the Commonwealth. A saying of Shaftesbury's was in every body's mouth, "that he would make the king walk out of his dominions, and that the Duke of York should be like Cain—a fugitive and a vagabond on the face of the earth." The English, however, were resolved on no consideration to have a return of the Commonwealth or of the civil war. A similar feeling
Aug. 31. was manifested in Scotland the same year, in a resolution of the Parliament, which declared a change in the succession, even on account of difference in religion, to be high treason. Twenty years of peace had already produced the fairest fruits: trades and manufactures were flourishing; a substantial middle

class had arisen; and they now eagerly united with the nobility and gentry throughout the kingdom, in addresses to the king, expressive of their devotedness and attachment.

In order to take advantage of this favourable temper of the people, the court caused the Earl of Shaftesbury to be arrested, and sent to the Tower. Discord had broken out among the perjured informers; some of them asserted on oath, that the Earl had bribed them to give false testimony against the Queen and the Duke of York. These were the very men, whose evidence had been received by the courts of justice, in the pretended Popish plot. The Earl's enemies were, however, disappointed in their expectation; the grand jury ignored the bill against him. After this warning a less hasty course was adopted. It was resolved to attack the resistance of the courts to the Crown, at its very foundation, by obtaining an indirect influence on the nomination of the jury. The city of London was justly considered to be the centre of resistance, and it was therefore determined to begin there. The Crown succeeded in obtaining the 1682.
election of a Lord Mayor who was devoted to its interest; but it was yet more important that the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex, who had the appointment of the jurymen, should no longer be of the opposition party, or, conformably to the party names (the enigmatical origin of which arose in the time of Charles I.), that they should be Tories and not Whigs. For this purpose the king, at the instance of his Privy Council, issued a *quo warranto* to the city, that is, an order to produce their charter, that it might be examined, to ascertain whether they had in every

respect acted in conformity with it. An investigation being made, it was discovered that in some points the city had gone too far, had levied a market toll by its own authority, and had circulated a printed petition against the prorogation of Parliament, from which the Crown inferred that the city had by its breach of the charter forfeited its privileges. To this it was objected, on the part of the city, that nothing illegal had been done, and that besides it was contrary to common sense to speak of the misdemeanours of a corporation; that if any thing worthy of punishment had been done, those persons alone were amenable who had committed it, and not the corporation, which consisted of 50,000 individuals. The affair was protracted for two years, when the Judges at Westminster decided against the city, and pronounced that it had forfeited its charter. Upon its humble petition, the charter was restored, but with this restriction, that the most important offices, namely, those of the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, should in future be subject to the king's confirmation, and also that the king, when he had twice rejected the choice of a mayor or sheriff, might fill the office according to his own discretion. This mode of procedure, which had proved successful with the most important corporation in the kingdom, was now generally applied, and the new Lord Chief Justice, Jeffreys, possessed peculiar talent in inducing the different cities and corporations, partly by threats, and partly by promises, to deliver up their charters: they were indeed restored on payment of heavy fees; but the most important offices in the corporations were thenceforward dependent on the confirmation of the

sovereign; and for the first time, were filled by the crown itself. The results of this measure were very important.

Meantime the leaders of the opposition were not idle. Shaftesbury, irritated by failure, relinquished intrigue for violence. During the king's dangerous illness, two years previously, he was of opinion that the succession of the Duke of York ought to be opposed by arms. In the last Parliament held by Charles, Shaftesbury induced the House to come to a resolution that it would continue to sit, in spite of a dissolution, should the king prematurely decide upon such a step; but Charles triumphed by taking them by surprise, and thus the plan was defeated. As no Parliament could be hoped for within the next three years, Shaftesbury felt that if he was to effect any thing he had no resource left but violence, for he was now upwards of sixty years of age, and greatly afflicted with the gout. He was perfectly indifferent whether Monmouth, or Charles's son by the Duchess of Portsmouth, became king; nor did he object to a commonwealth; for he was persuaded that with 10,000 active young men, whom he could command in London, something might be effected if no time were lost, and he himself was ready to strike the first blow; but his friends were divided in opinion. Lord William Russell advocated the plenary rights of the people; he would have the Duke of York excluded: but he required a king; Algernon Sidney was a republican from principle, and Monmouth thought only of himself. They were, however, all unanimous that Shaftesbury proceeded too rashly, while he predicted that the axe and the halter awaited them if they procrastinated.

They were alarmed lest he should madly break out, without object or ground of hope, when intelligence was suddenly received that he was not to be found at his own house: that he had concealed himself; and soon afterwards, that he had escaped arrest by flight. Cursing his friends more than his enemies, he fled
1683. January. in despair to Holland, where he died three months after of gout in the stomach.

His friends now experienced the fate that was specially intended for him: arrest and accusation of high treason. James had returned some time before, and stirred up the smouldering embers. His unceasing enemy, the Duchess of Portsmouth, who knew that she was hated both as a Frenchwoman and a Roman Catholic, began to reflect more and more upon her probable lot, after the death of Charles. The proud hopes which she had once entertained for her son, the Duke of Richmond, were abandoned, and she therefore offered her assistance to facilitate the return of the Duke of York; and having at length got scent of the French money, she was enabled henceforward to deduct 10,000*l.* from every quarterly remittance, till she had amassed 100,000*l.*

Meantime the humiliation of the city had been effected; its magistrates had been confirmed by the king; the court of aldermen was composed of entirely new members; and the king could depend on having jurymen of Tory principles. The last blow was
June 12. given by the discovery of a conspiracy against the life of the king and the Duke of York. The conspirators had agreed to lie in wait for them at a country house in Hertfordshire, called Rye House; they intended to have blocked up the road with an overturned cart,

and then to have attacked and shot the royal brothers. Some of the conspirators were officers of the time of the Commonwealth; all were persons who had declined in the world, and were of little consideration; but among them were some low, intriguing characters, who had been in Shaftesbury's employ, and who were not unknown to his friends. Lord Russell, Sidney, and Hampden, grandson of the celebrated John Hampden, Lords Howard and Essex were immediately arrested; while Lord Grey and the Duke of Monmouth made their escape. None of these were actually implicated in the Rye House conspiracy, but, on the confession of Lord Howard, who, to save his own life, basely turned king's evidence, it was apparent that they had proposed, virtually, the means of raising an insurrection. It is scarcely possible, in times of great political agitation, to be at once politically active, and to remain innocent in the eye of the law; nor will it ever be ascertained, with legal precision, where the boundary of allowable resistance begins. If we go back only two years, we shall find that the juries of the capital would have deemed every thing that Russell and Sidney discussed and prepared, as justifiable resistance to the return of Popery; now they looked upon their proceedings as rebellion, disturbance of the succession, and contempt for the divine right of kings, and accordingly pronounced upon them the verdict of guilty. The reign of the Duke of York, when James II., was a splendid justification of the political foresight of these two men; and the universal opinion of England numbers them among the martyrs of liberty: but the shameless and inhuman abuse which they made of the popish plot, as a political lever,

is an indelible stain on their memory. Lord William Russell was loath to die; but it was in vain that he addressed, through his devoted wife, petitions for pardon to the king and to the duke. In spite of the urgent entreaties of Bishops Burnet and Tillotson, he would not give up his conviction, that a free nation like the English had a right to defend their religion and their liberty when they were attacked, even though it were done under the pretext of law. We meet here with one of the most flagrant contradictions
July 21 of the age. On the 21st July, the day when this stedfast defender of the doctrine of active resistance to oppression, lost his life, the University of Oxford issued a decree, which, "to the honour of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, pronounces eternal damnation on the following doctrines; that civil authority is originally derived from the people; that there is a mutual compact, tacit or expressed, between a prince and his people, and that if he perform not his duty, they are discharged from theirs; that if lawful governors become tyrants, and govern otherwise than, by the laws of God and man, they ought to do, they forfeit the right they had unto their government." In the same decree, four and twenty propositions, from the writings of Buchanan, Milton, Knox, Hobbes, and others, are quoted and designated heretical and blasphemous, and the books from which they were taken were ordered to be burnt. In immediate connection with this decree, John Locke, who was already odious on account of his intercourse with Shaftesbury, was expelled from Christ Church, Oxford. But the day came, and it was not far distant, when justice was done to Locke, and likewise to those who had burnt the books, for in

the first year of Queen Anne, who ascended the throne by virtue of the practical exercise of the right of resistance, the Oxford decree was, by command of Parliament, publicly consigned to the flames.

Algernon Sidney was beheaded on the 8th December, 1683; as Lord Howard was the only witness, Justice Jeffreys made up for the want of a second witness, by producing a manuscript, which had been found on Sidney's table, and, on the principle scribere est agere, was admitted as an overt act of high treason. This was an essay written by the prisoner against a silly writer, Sir Robert Filmer, who, in his "Patriarche," declares that all royal power emanates from Adam, as the first king and father of a family, and represents it, as in its nature, absolute. It did not avail Sidney that the pamphlet had been written long before, and that there was no proof of an intention to publish it: the republican contents were held to be sufficient ground for a sentence of condemnation. The Earl of Essex avoided a similar fate by committing suicide in the Tower. Hampden escaped with a heavy fine. After several other victims had fallen, avenging justice at length overtook Titus Oates. It was proved by witnesses, that he had uttered threats and abusive language against the Duke of York. The statute "De Scandalis Magnatum" was applied to him, and he was condemned in a fine of 100,000*l.* damages, and, being unable to pay, was committed to prison. 1683. Dec. 8. 1684.

James likewise exacted full satisfaction from the Duke of Monmouth, who, tormented by conflicting passions, now solicited pardon of the king and the duke, and signed a humble confession of his participation in the conspiracy; then, furious at its publication

in the Gazette, openly declared that it was falsified,—then again confessed, and once more denied, the document. At length he was obliged altogether to quit the kingdom, and seek refuge in Holland with the Prince of Orange, while James re-appeared as Lord High Admiral, and resumed his seat in the Privy Council. Charles nourished his banished son with futile hopes, and, on one occasion, gave him a private interview, which, however, led to no further results; he maintained a certain balance between the influence of his brother and that of Lord Halifax, who acted as a check upon one another; quarrelled with Louis XIV. when his remittances were not received punctually, but forgave him all, even public insinuations respecting the pension, when it was paid beforehand. The Duchess of Portsmouth had not received the last 10,000*l.* when the king was
1685. Feb. 2. seized early one morning with an apoplectic fit. Prompt bleeding restored him to his senses, but all hope of his recovery vanished on a second attack. James did not stir from his brother's bedside, where he watched alternately with one of the bishops. When his strength began to fail, the Bishop of Bath
Feb. 5. asked him whether he should administer the Lord's Supper to him, and, after some time, repeated his question, but the king always gave an evasive answer: James then approached his brother, and inquired in a low voice, whether he should send for a Roman Catholic priest. "For God's sake, do so," said Charles, "but will it not bring you into danger?" A priest named Huddlestone was fetched, who had formerly rendered great services to Charles after the fatal battle at Worcester. The duke said, "Sire, here

is a man who once saved your life, and who is now come to save your soul." The king replied, "He is welcome." The priest received the king's declaration that he wished to be reconciled to the Roman Catholic Church; confessed him, and then pronounced absolution, and administered the Sacrament and Extreme Unction. Only two courtiers, Lords Bath and Feversham, were present during this ceremony; but the events which had passed in the strictest privacy during these three quarters of an hour were soon generally known. The king died on the following morning, in the 55th year of his age. His deathbed was surrounded by his illegitimate children, of whom he had acknowledged nine, but Monmouth, his favourite, was wanting. Immediately after the first attack, he also saw the queen. During the last night she sent to excuse her absence, as being herself ill, and begged the king to forgive her every thing in which she had offended him. "Alas! poor woman," said Charles, "does she ask my pardon? It is I who should ask hers, and I do it with all my heart." Thus, Charles confirmed to the last moment the characteristic remark that was made of him, that, in his whole life, he had never said a foolish thing, nor ever done a wise one.

Feb. 6.

JAMES II.

1685—1688.

1685. With implicit confidence in himself, James entered on his new career. He brought to the throne the same pertinacious courage which animated him in the days of his youth, when he commanded the fleet in the battle of Solebay against the valiant de Ruyter. During that long and obstinate engagement, two ships of the line were so completely shattered under him by the enemy's fire, that he was forced to make his escape from the cabin window; but, on the third vessel his flag continued to fly unconquered, and his heroic intrepidity and perseverance had their reward. For the space of five-and-twenty years he had closely observed his brother, who did every thing in a careless, off-hand manner, and never listened to his advice; but he remained undaunted by every refusal, undeterred by every ill treatment: he returned again and again to the charge, and eventually flattered himself that he had saved his brother's soul. At the age of fifty-three, he was now himself placed at the helm, and he was sensible that he had no time to lose.

James ascended the throne without the slightest opposition. The various measures which he had silently prepared to meet any resistance proved superfluous. His declaration in the Privy Council: "that he would refute by his actions the false report which had stigmatized him as a man fond of arbitrary power; that he would endeavour to preserve the government, both in Church and State, as by law established; and that

he knew the principles of the Church of England to be favourable to the monarchy," was received with universal approbation. His words were taken down, while the council sat, and immediately published in the newspapers. Men read them with surprise, and willingly believed what they so ardently wished to be true. But, at the very same moment, James disclosed to the French ambassador the secret conviction of his heart, that the Church of England was fundamentally so closely allied to that of Rome that it would be easy to induce the majority of the Episcopalians to make public profession of that faith. "He has several times said to me," writes Barillon to his sovereign, "'The people are Roman Catholics without knowing it.'" Such were his public professions, and such his secret assertions. In the printed declaration the king says, he will never depart from the just right and prerogatives of the Crown, and never invade any man's property. What interpretation was to be given to these words appeared in the very commencement of his reign, when the duties of custom and excise continued to be levied, though the grant had expired at the death of Charles. The nation was, however, satisfied, because a Parliament was summoned about the same time.

On the first Sunday after his brother's funeral, Feb. James publicly attended mass in the Queen's chapel; where the folding-doors were set wide open, that all in the ante-room might see what was passing. Processions to church, attended by the members of the royal household, with the guards and all the insignia of regal dignity, increased systematically in ostentation and splendour from week to week; and none could any longer doubt what all this portended, when two

papers, written by the late king, and found in his strong box, were printed; the tendency of which went to prove that, Christ could have only *one* true Church upon earth, and that that Church was the Church of Rome. A report of Father Huddleston was published at the same time, stating that Charles II. had died in communion with the Mother Church. But all this was surpassed by the publication of a paper left by the late Duchess of York, in which she openly declared her conversion to the Romish faith. Herein she stated it to be her conviction that the Holy Spirit could not have exerted His influence, when Henry VIII., in order to marry another woman, separated from his first wife and from the Pope; and that it was not conceivable that the bishops would have waited for such a sacrilegious act, had they been really desirous of restoring, as they boasted, the purity of the original doctrines of the Church. The Duchess mentioned by name an archbishop and a bishop, who had told her in conversation, that "there was much in the Romish Church which it would have been better to have retained in the Church of England, especially auricular confession and masses for the dead: and that if they had been brought up in the Romish religion, they would not have forsaken it."

James had reigned only five weeks when his subjects already complained of encroachments on their property, and of the violation of the ecclesiastical laws by the offensive publicity of the Popish worship, combined with the intolerable circumstance that some thousand Papists and Quakers were suddenly released from prison, and showed themselves openly in the public streets. On this a note of alarm was sounded

from all the pulpits of the capital; but the king sent for the prelates, and declared to them that if they did not restrain their preachers, he should no longer be bound by his promise to protect the Anglican Church. It was now evident what reliance was to be placed on the king's speech in the Privy Council.

Thus James, in a very short time, had shaken the foundations of every existing institution; yet there was one thing which he wished to retain, viz. the annual pension from France. But he had much difficulty in obtaining even the arrears, and Louis could not be induced to renew his grant for three years more, for he well knew the obstinate character of James, and was aware that, under the government of such a monarch, England would be fully occupied at home. Barillon was instructed not to touch the sums confided to him, except in case of a dissolution of Parliament or of an insurrection. Those English Roman Catholics who had any thing to lose, regarded the matter in the same light, and would willingly have checked the imprudent precipitation with which James hastened to accomplish his object.

When Parliament met the grants for the whole term of the king's life were soon agreed upon. The well-known economy of the sovereign deserved this confidence, and even if offence were felt, no inclination to opposition was manifested. But the House was seriously displeased with a portion of the speech from the throne, which spoke slightingly of those members who deemed it requisite to secure frequent meetings of Parliament by granting slender supplies; and when the king added, "I must plainly tell you, once for all, that such an expedient would be very

1685. May.

improper to employ with me," "every face," says Barillon, "was covered as it were with a cloud." But at the conclusion of the session news was brought that Argyle, with a rebel band from Holland, had
May 20. landed in the western islands of Scotland, and had proclaimed James a usurper and a tyrant; whereupon the House instantly manifested by word and deed great interest in the king's cause.

The Earl of Argyle had undertaken this expedition from Holland, which was at that time the rendezvous of all the malcontents of Great Britain. The Duke of Monmouth was likewise there; and these two ambitious, but ill-advised, men concerted that each should undertake to raise an insurrection among his own countrymen. Argyle, with three hundred Scotch, went to the Highlands, while Monmouth was to sail, within a week, to the coast of England. But Monmouth's embarkation at Amsterdam was delayed for several weeks, and when he at length appeared off the coast of Dorsetshire, Argyle was already ruined; he
June 11. was taken prisoner a few days afterwards, and sentenced to death. Monmouth had only a moderate retinue of servants and exiles on board his frigate and the four small vessels which accompanied him, but he carried arms for some thousand men, whom he expected to flock to his standard. In his proclamation he represented himself as the head of the Protestant armed force of the kingdom; he stated that his object was to secure that religion against the attacks of the king, whom he accused, among numberless other charges, of having poisoned his own brother and sovereign. He laid no claim to the crown, but submitted the decision of his right to Parliament. Find-

ing himself in four days at the head of between three and four thousand men, and learning on the other side that Parliament had offered a reward for his head, he caused himself to be proclaimed king by the title of James II., offered a reward for the head of the usurper, James Duke of York, threatened the Duke of Albemarle, Monk's son, who had collected the militia to oppose him, with the penalties of high treason; and commanded the Parliament to dissolve itself within ten days, on pain of being declared a seditious assembly. These high-sounding words brought him indeed a mass of about 6,000 men, but among them was scarcely one person of consequence, except Lord Grey, who had accompanied him from Holland. But neither Monmouth nor Grey was a general, nor even a soldier. In the first skirmish Lord Grey was one of the foremost who fled; and when information was brought of the execution of the brave Argyle, the man who aimed at the crown spoke, in a Council of War, of retiring to the sea coast; and this shameful course would have been taken, had not Lord Grey, who possessed some remnant of the courage which the honour of his rank demanded, decidedly opposed such a resolution. They now fell into the contrary extreme, and resolved to venture an attack by night on Lord Feversham, who lay in the vicinity with only two thousand foot and five hundred horse; but these were all disciplined soldiers. The execution of this plan was so faulty and feeble, that it was entirely defeated: the insurgents, however, kept the field for three hours. Lord Grey was first taken, and the duke was found in a ditch, covered with fern. He was taken to London, and, with his hands tied behind him, was brought

June 20.

before the king, whom he earnestly desired to see, as he had something to communicate to him. James, perhaps, expected to obtain confessions implicating his son-in-law. But Monmouth was not a man to elicit the plans of the Prince of Orange. The Prince had at first dissuaded him from the attempt, then connived at it, and, in the sequel, to excuse his voluntary blindness, had offered to come to England with Dutch troops, and fight against Monmouth; but this was decidedly refused. The unhappy young man lay prostrate on his knees before the king; he had no discovery to make; only to implore pity, to represent himself as one misled, whom Grey had compelled to assume the royal title. Lord Grey behaved with more dignity and resolution, but sought, and afterwards obtained, his pardon, by confessions to the prejudice of others. Monmouth did not desist till he had exhausted all means of intercession, entreaty, and unworthy humiliation. Finding, however, all his efforts vain, he assumed courage to die with a spirit more becoming his rank and character. His death was most painful: the executioner, after three ineffectual blows, threw down his axe, exclaiming, "I cannot do this work." But the sheriff compelled him, and with the fifth blow the head was severed from the body.

Soon afterwards Chief Justice Jeffreys visited the western counties with a considerable retinue, everywhere not only seeking out and mercilessly slaughtering the men who had taken an active part, but exercising equal severity towards those who had merely harboured the fugitives; scarcely one among a thousand succeeded in purchasing his safety from him and his confederates. In order to attain his ends, Jeffreys broke through the forms

of proceeding consecrated by ancient usage, and terrified the jury by loud threats. If there was one witness in support of the accusation for high-treason, he found a second to give evidence to some secondary circumstance, and affirmed that the high-treason had been proved by two witnesses. Thus 330 persons were executed, and 800, it was said, were transported to the colonies, where they were sold as slaves.

James was indebted to the supineness of his enemies for his surprising success: in order to attain the object which he had yet in view, he required two things — a standing army with a body of Roman Catholic officers, and an alteration in the Habeas Corpus Act.

Charles had had, for several years, six English regiments in the Dutch service and pay; they were no expense to him; remained in practice, and could be brought over occasionally, in case of internal disturbances; they might also be engaged the more safely against their countrymen, as their long absence had alienated them from their home. James had sent for a detachment, of them, to be employed against the Duke of Monmouth, but acquired some knowledge of the spirit that prevailed among these troops, which increased his distrust of his son-in-law. He would willingly have put an end to the connexion, could it have been done without an open breach; and was on this account the more desirous of retaining the 15,000 infantry and 4000 cavalry which he had employed against Monmouth on the same footing as they were, under the command of a number of Roman Catholic officers, to whose appointment, in the pressure of the moment, none had objected. In order to accomplish this, it would be necessary to repeal the Test Act. At the same time

James publicly declared (as his brother had done before him) that no government could exist so long as the Habeas Corpus Act was in force; and, in fact, many an Englishman had escaped the ferocious persecution of Jeffreys, because the benefit of that Act afforded him sufficient time to collect proofs of his innocence. Such was the state of affairs in England when Louis XIV. revoked the edict of Nantes, and thousands of Huguenots took refuge in England.

Nov. 9. When Parliament met late in the autumn, the king informed the two Houses that he had augmented the army, and had given commissions to some men who were not duly qualified by law, but that they were men of approved loyalty, and he therefore hoped that the Parliament would grant the necessary supplies, and sanction a state of things which had been produced by necessity. The king, like his brother, used regularly to attend the sittings of the Upper House: the peers were satisfied, but the Commons resolved to take the matter into deliberation. They eventually agreed to vote the supplies, and did not require the Roman Catholic officers who had been put into commission to be punished according to the law, but they insisted on their immediate discharge. They proceeded temperately, but firmly, and as James perceived that the House of

Nov. 20. Lords began to waver, he resolved to prorogue the Parliament. Jeffreys had remained firm, and was rewarded by being raised to the dignity of Lord Chancellor. Lord Sunderland, Secretary of State, coincided with him: he was a man of the world, without principle, who had formerly exerted himself in the exclusion of James, and now contrived to gain his favour by obsequious devotedness to his will. The

third in this alliance was Father Petre, a rapacious Jesuit, full of zeal, but destitute of that knowledge of mankind which is usual in members of his order. He alone enjoyed the utmost confidence of James. Clarendon's son, the Earl of Rochester, who sincerely desired to promote the King's real interest, dissuaded him from all strong measures in favour of the Roman Catholics. He would gladly have led his royal brother-in-law into a course of noble ambition and well-merited popularity, in order to thwart the dangerous projects of France. He once prevailed so far, that James renewed the defensive alliance with Holland; but Sunderland immediately interfered, and Louis granted him a pension of 60,000 livres. The failing of honest men is to think themselves indispensable. Rochester remained in his office of Lord Treasurer, till he was dismissed. The King was resolved to carry his point about the officers, in spite of the Parliament. Irritated by opposition, he ordered letters patent to be prepared under the Great Seal, for every Roman Catholic officer, exempting him personally, from the legal enactments to which his fellow-believers were liable. James in doing this relied on the power of the Crown to dispense, in certain cases, with the penal laws. In order to proceed on surer grounds, he applied to the judges, and required their opinion on this prerogative of the Crown. Under the direction of Jeffreys, the majority declared in his favour: the laws of England, they said, were the King's laws, and it had always been so considered: two of them who dissented lost their places.

This step excited extraordinary agitation, and Compton, Bishop of London, took the lead in resisting

it. The pulpits of the metropolis again resounded with complaints; and Compton, who had before been expelled from the Privy Council, was now suspended. Several Protestant clergymen who went over to the Romish church obtained dispensations for their persons, were allowed still to receive the revenues of their offices, and in part even to continue the exercise of their functions. Several Roman Catholic churches were built, even in the capital, and the Jesuits opened a school. James depended on his twelve battalions and thirty-five squadrons in the vicinity of London, and confidently prosecuted his plan in Scotland also. When the Parliament of that kingdom rejected, with abhorrence, any mitigation of the law against the Roman Catholics, James prorogued it, and by his own authority declared that the exercise of the Romish worship in private houses should be permitted; and, by virtue of the right of dispensation possessed by the Crown, ordered, that certain persons, mentioned by name, should be admitted to ecclesiastical benefices, without being obliged to take the oath prescribed by the Test Act. This dispensation was rapidly succeeded by the suspension and repeal of the Scotch laws, for in the following year (1687) complete toleration was granted by proclamation to Presbyterians, Quakers, and Roman Catholics; and James eventually abolished all the laws against the Papists, which had been passed during the minority of his grandfather.

In Ireland the execution of the King's plans was an easy, and at the same time a hazardous, undertaking. The main body of the population desired nothing better than the fulness of the gifts, which James offered; but this was loosening the wings of

the nation, without allowing it to fly. The character of conquest was firmly maintained by James, nor would he, on any consideration renounce it; with this view, Ireland was guarded by 8000 men, and all public and municipal offices were to be as open to Romanists as to Protestants. The Viceroy, Lord Clarendon, was even directed to put some of them into judicial offices, and to receive others into the Privy Council. The main point, however, was to purify the army, from all the adherents of the Commonwealth, both officers and privates, and to nominate Roman Catholics in their stead. Clarendon, against his better conviction, did as he was commanded. The dismissed officers embarked for Holland, and entered the service of the Prince of Orange; not long afterwards, the Earl of Tyrconnel, a distinguished and highly gifted Irishman, gained the King's favour, supplanted Clarendon, and succeeded him in the Lord Lieutenancy. The greatest joy pervaded Ireland at this event; but Tyrconnel secretly cherished the plan, that in the event of the King's death, without male issue, Ireland should not become subject to the dominion of the House of Orange. He strove, in the first instance, to recover for his popish countrymen the estates of which they had been deprived by the Commonwealth, and proceeded with all the enthusiasm and precipitancy of the Irish character, to promote the interests of his religion and of his country. On receipt of this information, great apprehensions were felt in Whitehall, and Tyrconnel would perhaps have been deprived of his office; but the eyes of James were not opened till his ruin was inevitable.

At this time the Privy Council of England were

informed that the board was to be augmented by five new members, four Roman Catholic peers, and Father Petre: they were to be exempted from the Test Act, by the general liberty of conscience, which was shortly to be proclaimed. The King's countenance beamed with joy, but the Roman Catholic nobles were filled with apprehension; and through the mediation of the Queen, succeeded in having the actual introduction of those new members postponed. Petre, however, resided at Whitehall, in the apartments occupied by James previous to his accession; and he was buoyed up with the expectation that the Pope would not only grant him a mitre, but perhaps even a cardinal's hat. At the end of 1686, the King, after having in vain endeavoured to convert the Earl of Rochester to the Romish faith, dismissed him, with tears, from his high post.

1687. The King was determined to be quite secure with the next session of Parliament, and accordingly required every member of the Lower House, who held a public office, to engage to vote for the ministers, if he valued his office. The majority yielded, and to those who seemed reluctant, it was demonstrated that the Roman Catholics, being so small a minority, the revocation of the Test Act could not be attended with any danger. Nevertheless, many persisted in refusing: some of whom were men holding the highest offices of state, which they sacrificed to their conviction. The influence which such examples might have on both Houses was incalculable; but James had raised his notions so high, that the most dangerous measures

April 18. appeared to him as the easiest. He resolved, without waiting for the consent of Parliament, to issue a de-

claration of liberty of conscience, as he had done in Scotland, with this difference, that in England it did not go beyond the suspension of the penal laws. He prohibited the Test, under the conviction "that Parliament would doubtless approve this measure, when it next met." Addresses of thanks immediately poured in from Roman Catholics, Baptists, Quakers, and dissenters of all denominations (the celebrated Quaker, William Penn, was much esteemed by the king); but by this measure James had come to an open breach with the Anglican Church, which became the wider, because from the removal of all political constraint, crowds quitted the Established Church, and flocked to the dissenters. The universities, which had recently manifested such passive obedience, at once showed an entirely opposite spirit. On an attempt of the King to have Father Francis, a Benedictine, admitted to the degree of Master of Arts, at Cambridge, and excused from taking the requisite oaths, he met with violent resistance; and Magdalen College, Oxford, opposed his encroachments with such vehemence, that the president and all the fellows, except two, who complied, were expelled. Acts of violence like these were then considered a victory of the Crown; but they, in fact, prognosticated its defeat, and James only proceeded with more hasty steps on his downward course. Father Petre was now actually introduced into the Privy Council, as Cabinet Secretary. A papal nuncio appeared in England, in his official character; but the Duke of Somerset, the Lord High Chamberlain, refused to introduce the nuncio at Court; whereupon he lost his place, but gained, in lieu of it, the favour of the people. Sunderland, about this time, embraced

the Romish faith. In one point the King retained his right judgment, — he feared the Parliament, and gave up the hope of obtaining from that assembly, as it was then constituted, the approbation of his measures.

July 2. He therefore dissolved it; and, in order to influence the new elections, made a tour through the kingdom, every where affirming, that it was not intended by the projected abolition of the Test Act to enable Roman Catholics again to sit in Parliament: his ardent desire was that men should treat each other with Christian toleration; and that the two Houses should remain Protestant as heretofore. Those who heard his assurances observed a respectful silence, but from which none but a James could infer that his hearers were convinced. In fact, he himself required other securities; for three questions were put to every one holding an office:—First, "whether, in case he were elected to a seat in the Lower House, he would vote for the repeal of the Test Act, and of the penal statutes relative to religion? Secondly, whether he would vote at the elections for such candidates as were favourable to the repeal? Thirdly, whether he recognised the declaration of liberty of conscience, and would live peaceably with Christians of every persuasion?" A hint was at the same time given that his office depended on his answering these questions in the affirmative. The result was, that in the first surprise, many persons yielded; but they soon armed themselves against the three questions, by subscribing a printed form, which was circulated through the country, to the effect that they could not engage to make a declaration on any one of the questions, till the arguments for and against it were discussed in Parliament. In consequence of this declaration, the King deferred

calling Parliament till he should be sure of a majority. There was besides no urgent necessity for it; the government being conducted with such economy that there was an annual surplus revenue of 100,000*l.*

James had another motive for hesitating to summon Parliament. William, Prince of Orange, sent a declaration, that neither he nor his queen would consent to the repeal of the Test Act and the penal laws; that his principle was not to do violence to any religious creed, but to protect his own; and that under a Roman Catholic king, the measures enacted for the protection of the Anglican Church were indispensable. This declaration of the King's son-in-law revived slumbering apprehensions. How was it possible that the Prince of Orange should have been ignorant of the expeditions of Monmouth and Argyle, which were equipped under his eyes? Had not Holland always been, and was it not still, the rendezvous of all the discontented English? And had James's imperious demand for their removal, at least from the seaports, had any effect? And to complete all, this last step! A declaration of this kind might be looked upon as proceeding, not so much from a foreign power, as from the presumptive heiress of the throne and her husband. Why then give to such a warning the greatest and most odious publicity, by a printed circular, undoubtedly proceeding from the same source, of which thousands of copies were spread far and near? James replied by a mandate, recalling the six British regiments from Holland. This step had been suggested to him by the French cabinet, and Louis himself was ready to take 2000 of the men into his own service. But the States-General were of opinion

August.

that there were many differences between the two governments, which must be previously settled; and when James, upon this, issued a general proclamation, recalling all his subjects in the service of foreign princes, only thirty-six officers and a few privates obeyed the summons. The opinion universally obtained in Holland, that the Protestant religion would be subverted by the concurrence of the King of England with the King of France; and the Dutch earnestly desired the overthrow of James, and were willing to lend their aid in effecting it. Several Algerine pirates, who had pillaged the Dutch, being permitted by James to find shelter in his harbours, and to dispose of their prizes, a pretext was afforded to the States-General for levying 9000 seamen; they also equipped twenty men-of-war, and had twenty others repaired. Money was voted for the alleged purpose of repairing the Dutch fortresses.

Matters, however, proceeded thus far, when it was publicly made known, that the Queen of England was *enceinte*. There were great rejoicings in the palace, and an heir to the crown was confidently looked for. Prayers for the safe delivery of the Queen were offered in all the churches at Christmas.

1688 At new year four Roman Catholic bishops entered upon the public exercise of their functions in England; and Magdalen College, Oxford, had a Roman Catholic President imposed on it, and why not? The majority of the offices was filled by persons of his own religion. The declaration of indulgence was published a second time, with the addition, that it was to be read in all the churches during Divine service. The bishops deliberated upon the subject, and decided that this demand

was contrary to prudence and conscience: for it involved not only the welfare of the Church but that also of the State; that not merely was a dispensation contemplated, but the repeal of legal enactments. The archbishop and six bishops accordingly joined in a petition to the King against reading the declaration from the desk. The King received the petitioners very ungraciously, but without positively refusing to grant their request. He said that it was equivalent to planting the standard of rebellion; insisted on their reading the declaration without further hesitation, and threatened that unless they consented to do so they should receive other directions on the following day. Printed copies of their petition were instantly circulated throughout London; no further directions were received, and yet the declarations were read in only a few churches. The King immediately resolved to punish the refractory bishops, though, on this occasion, Father Petre and Sunderland were alarmed at the probable consequences. As the bishops refused, in their right as peers, to give bail, they were committed to the Tower; June 8.
but the officers and soldiers who escorted them threw themselves on their knees before the prelates, and implored the benediction of the prisoners, whom they were appointed to guard. Soon afterwards six other bishops publicly declared their concurrence in the petition.

Two days afterwards the Queen was delivered of a June 10.
prince. Ill-disposed persons had already insinuated that the Queen's hope of an heir was as ill-founded as that of the popish Mary had been; and on the birth of the prince they insisted that a miscarriage had taken place some months before, and that the infant

had been surreptitiously introduced into the chamber. Though this assertion was wholly unsupported by proofs, it nevertheless obtained credit; for every thing that could cast an odium on the royal family was readily believed, and propagated. Barillon, the French ambassador, understood the real state of the case: he had seen and admired the infant immediately after its birth, when the happy father, in the fulness of his joy, had embraced him. He wrote to his sovereign, "The birth of the Prince of Wales may possibly cause a considerable change, and strengthen the party devoted to the royal family; but the discontented now think it more necessary than ever to resist the plans of his Britannic Majesty; and this circumstance may perhaps hasten the execution of the enterprises which they have prepared."

The result of the trial of the bishops in Westminster Hall was doubtful, till the moment of its decision. The counsel for the defence were driven to their last stronghold; for in the end, all depended on the question whether the Crown possessed the right of dispensing with the law, or not: in this conflict the dispensing power sustained a total defeat. Powell, one of the judges, said, "If such a dispensing power be allowed, we need no Parliament — all the legislative power will be in the King." When the jury, who had sat ten hours, and afterwards throughout the whole night, in violent altercation, came into Court at
June 17. nine in the morning, and their foreman delivered their verdict of "Not guilty," the hall rang with shouts of joy, which were re-echoed by the crowds without, spread like wildfire through all the streets of the city, and penetrated even to the camp on

Hounslow Heath, where the loud huzzas of the soldiers brought it to the ears of the King, who happened to be on the spot conversing with Lord Feversham. "What is that?" said the King. His lordship inquired, and gave for answer, "It is nothing, only the soldiers rejoicing because the bishops are acquitted." "Call you that nothing?" said James; "but so much the worse for them." The population of London was not idle; innumerable bonfires were lighted up; and the pope was burnt in effigy in front of the windows of the Royal Palace.

The knell of the Stuarts had sounded. The birth of a son, on which James built all his hopes, held out to the English a prospect of prolonged misery, under the oppression of the detested rule of popery. The happy atonement with which they had before consoled themselves in the succession of James's Protestant daughters, Mary and Anne, was now cut off.* Even before the birth of the prince, when the danger was still doubtful, and William's ambassador in England travelled backwards and forwards, carrying the correspondence of the male-contents with the Hague, a swift-sailing vessel was often secretly despatched to the Netherlands, and on one occasion it conveyed Admiral Russell with proposals to William. The prince replied, that if a positive invitation from men of the highest rank should be made to him, to deliver England from popery and tyranny, he could be ready by September. On this, seven men of the highest influence met: these were the Earls of Shrewsbury, Devonshire, and Danby, the Bishop of London, Lord Lumley, Henry Sidney, brother of Algernon Sidney,

* Had the child been a daughter, Mary and Anne, as King James's elder daughters, would of course have had the precedence. — *H.E.L.*

and Admiral Russell, who signed, in the house of the Earl of Shrewsbury, an address, in cipher, to William of Orange, with the earnest entreaty to come over to England. They assured him that nineteen twentieths of the country were impatient for his arrival; that he should come before the end of the year well armed, and he would find his friends prepared; that an army should soon be assembled, twice as numerous as that of the King, which, besides, would not stand its ground; that the sentiments of many officers had been ascertained; that they served only for their subsistence; that the privates in general hated popery; and that in the fleet there was not one man in ten who would offer any resistance, so thoroughly were all classes discontented with the present state of affairs. William had just sent a special ambassador to congratulate James on the birth of his son; and the Prince of Wales was publicly prayed for in the churches at the Hague; but on a sudden this was discontinued. "Why is this, my daughter?" wrote James; and Mary was obliged to answer, "It was mere accident:" and the name of the young prince was again introduced into the petitions of the Church. Mary had in William a harsh unamiable husband; she meekly forgave him all, and only desired that he might be more faithful to her. She had never dreamt that a time might come when she would govern England as queen, according to her own will, and not according to that of her husband. When Bishop Burnet, the historian, observed to her that there was such a law in England, which indeed was contrary to the word of God, she immediately declared her readiness to give up her right to the claims of William. She said she would, when the time came,

ask for an Act of Parliament on the subject; that she would be, and remain an obedient wife to her husband, and desire only that he should be an affectionate husband to her. Very different were the sentiments of her sister Anne, who was married to Prince George of Denmark. She looked on this insignificant personage, Monsieur *Est-il possible?* as James loved to call him, merely as the father of her children, and treated him with the utmost contempt. It was said that Anne had purposely gone to Bath about the time of the Queen's delivery, that she might with the less constraint listen to, and propagate the reports of the illegitimacy of the child.

When King Louis saw 10,000 infantry and 2000 cavalry assembled near Nimeguen, and a Dutch fleet of sixty men-of-war fitting out with great activity, he proffered the assistance of his fleet to the King of England; but James, who was a tender father, would not believe that his daughter intended to drive him from the throne. Louis did not suffer himself to be blinded by the confidence of James, but plainly declared to the States-General, that he should consider any attack made by the Prince on his ally the King of England as an infraction of the peace. James was much mortified, and the more vexed at what he considered an ill-timed schooling, because he was particularly desirous not to appear to his people, at this juncture, as an ally of France; for Louis was arming for a new ambitious enterprise. When James at length felt some mistrust, and inquired of the Dutch the reason of such armaments, he was answered that they were apprehensive of an alliance between France and England against the republic, and therefore could

not do otherwise than arm. Thus, no ray of light penetrated the Egyptian darkness of this monarch's mind. Lord Churchill, one of his principal generals, whose wife was the confidant of Princess Anne, and to whose sister James paid his court, had for weeks secretly worshipped the rising sun of William. Every one about James foresaw the coming storm, but he alone was deaf to every warning. He recalled his ambassador from France, and sent him to the Tower, though he had been faithful in the discharge of his duty. Louis wrote to Barillon, "At your court, every body is asleep or bewildered, while the greatest conspiracy ever formed is impending." He now began to give up the cause of the Stuarts as lost. To crown all, he commenced in September his war with Germany, and thus relieved William from the apprehension that the threats against him might be carried into effect. When James was informed of the German war he suddenly became sensible that his son-in-law was now free to execute any project that he might have against him. But was any thing really in contemplation? While the King stood alone, facts pressed on him with resistless power, and cruelly avenged the long slighted reiterated warnings. At the latter end of September, the King was seen to be deeply moved, with every indication of the most painful mental agitation. His daughter Anne kept an account of all that passed, and she regularly communicated it to the Hague. One resource was still left to James: an endeavour to detach the States-General from the interest of the Prince of Orange; he accordingly offered to form an alliance with them and Spain, and declare war against France. How great was his con-

sternation when he received an answer, which, without alluding to his proposal, expressed the readiness of the States-General to assist, by their mediation, in restoring the good understanding between him and the English nation.

All doubts were now at an end, and James immediately endeavoured to disarm the animosity of his people by one concession after another. He issued a declaration to the people, affirming that the King entirely confided in their fidelity; that he would live and die with them. He restored the Bishop of London to his episcopal jurisdiction; he published a general amnesty, excluding only sixteen persons, who had fled the kingdom; he gave back to the city of London its ancient charter, and promised the same favour to the other corporations. Orders were given to remove the Roman Catholic officers from the army; the expelled President and Fellows of Magdalen College were reinstated, and its affairs directed to be settled according to the statutes; the ecclesiastical commission was abolished; entire freedom in the elections for the Parliament which was shortly to be assembled was announced; the Archbishop of Canterbury and eight bishops were graciously received, and they even ventured to express a hope that the King might return to the bosom of the Church in which he had been baptized and brought up. All this was the work of a few days in September and October, 1688. Sep.

At the same time great exertions were made to augment the forces both by sea and land. The Prince of Wales was baptized with great pomp, according to the rites of the church of Rome, the papal nuncio standing sponsor as proxy for the pope, and the King

summoned an extraordinary council to prove the birth of the prince; a step which was rendered necessary by William's manifesto to the people of England and Scotland, which branded him as illegitimate. A few days before the dreaded arrival of William, the Earl of Sunderland was suddenly dismissed, and Father Petre retired from the Privy Council, but remained concealed in Whitehall, to be in readiness if his services should be wanted. Barillon had provided money to meet the most pressing necessities; but the writs already issued for the assembling of Parliament were suddenly revoked, in consequence of the pressure of circumstances; for what resource would remain if, at this moment, the Parliament should take part against the King?

Nov. 5. On the 5th of November, 1688, just one hundred years after the defeat of the Armada, and on the anniversary of the discovery of the Gunpowder Treason, William landed in the capacious harbour of Torbay, on the coast of Devonshire. The English colours were displayed on his mainmast, with the inscription, "The Protestant Religion and the Liberty of England!" and underneath this the motto of the house of Nassau, "Je maintiendray." The King's fleet had done nothing to oppose him, whether unfavourable winds or doubts respecting the fidelity of his men checked the honourable intentions of Lord Dartmouth, their commander. James, knowing that he was twice as strong by land as his adversary, resolved, though dissuaded by many, to meet him half way, and set out for the head-quarters at Salisbury. It seemed that this was a judicious step; for William did not at first meet with the active sup-

port of his secret confederates: only a few men of influence had joined him, and he was rather avoided in the towns through which he passed. But on the 10th of November Lord Cornbury, son of the Earl of Clarendon, endeavoured to go over to him, with three English regiments of cavalry. Though this attempt succeeded but very partially, the majority of the troops remaining faithful, so that Cornbury arrived as a fugitive in the Dutch camp, yet the unhappy monarch himself, in his posthumous papers, dates his ruin from that event. He was at that time in London, whither Lord Feversham had preceded him; the alarming news of the desertion of three regiments reached the capital, and the king, fearful of treachery to his person, would not venture to return to the camp. He now listened to the previously rejected advice of Father Petre, to remain in London, and send his son to France. On the receipt of more favourable intelligence, the king, however, proceeded to the army, but in the council of war at Salisbury Nov. 19. his friends gave him the cowardly advice to retreat to London, while his unfaithful adherents urged him boldly to face the enemy on the spot. James followed the advice of the former, and his suspicion that some of the leading men would give him up to his enemies, seemed to be justified by what immediately ensued; for on the following night, Lieutenant-general Lord Churchill, the man who, in the council of war, had been foremost in advocating decisive measures, accompanied by several officers of his regiment, went over to William; nor can all the splendour of his subsequent career, clear the Duke of Marlborough from the disgrace of having himself betrayed, and led others

to betray, his sovereign. On the second day of the retreat, when news was brought that Prince George had gone over to William on the preceding night, James exclaimed, "*Est-il possible* gone? Were he
Nov. 24. not my son-in-law a private cavalry soldier would be a greater loss to me." On the next day Anne followed her husband's example, and withdrew with her bosom friend, Lady Churchill. When James learned this, he exclaimed, in an agony and with tears, "God help me—my own children have forsaken me!" Soon afterwards Lord Dartmouth wrote that he could no longer answer for the fidelity of his seamen; that the number of persons of distinction in the northern and midland counties who took up arms for William was increasing; that their proclamations no longer spoke of the Protestant religion and a free parliament, but had assumed language which cut off all hopes of conciliation. James was now denounced as a tyrant, who substituted his will for the laws of the realm; and that, therefore, resistance to him was not rebellion, but just self-defence. On this he resolved to send the queen and his son to France, and, if expedient, to flee thither himself; but in the mean time to make a last effort, to ascertain whether a ray of hope still remained.
Nov. 30. On the 30th of November he issued a proclamation, convoking Parliament to meet on the 15th of January; promised an unconditional amnesty, and then sent commissioners to the prince's head-quarters, to announce to him that all the causes of complaint alleged by his highness, and which he had himself stated to be the only grounds of his hostile landing, were now removed; he therefore proposed that he should not advance nearer to the metropolis, in order that a really

free parliament might be held, undisturbed by the din of arms.

Lord Clarendon also had repaired to the prince, not with a view of making his niece queen, but, as his previous conduct and his subsequent proceedings authorise us to infer, to assist in effecting an amicable arrangement, which, according to outward appearances, seemed to be still possible. In the opinion of the prince this was no longer feasible: he detained the commissioners till the sixth day, and then replied to the main point, that if his Majesty intended to remain in London while the Parliament was sitting, he required to be there also, with an equal number of guards; that if the king wished to be in the vicinity of London, he would take up his abode at a place equally distant; and lastly, that the respective armies were not to approach within thirty miles of London. This answer being received by James on the evening of the 9th of December, he sent away the queen and the young prince during the night to France, promising his affectionate consort, who was unwilling to depart, that he would follow her within twenty-four hours. He had then no presentiment that he would be unable to fulfil this promise. Though the flight of Queen Mary was full of suffering, as in the disguise of a servant, with her infant and his nurse, and only two persons in her company, she was exposed, without shelter, to the winter's cold, every instant dreading to be discovered, encountering, in an open boat, a storm of wind and rain while dropping down the river to reach the vessel which was to receive her: yet, after all her trials and difficulties, she arrived safe at Calais. But the most painful disap-

pointment, and unheard of humiliation were reserved for the king. Before his flight he burnt the greater part of the writs for electing a parliament, which were not yet issued, wrote to Lord Feversham to disband the army, and in the dead of the night of the 10th of
Dec. 11. December, or rather one in the morning of the 11th, he crossed the Thames, and threw the great seal into the river. On the opposite bank horses had been kept in readiness, which conveyed him to the village of Feversham, while the Privy Council were expecting him at Whitehall, which he had summoned for that morning, with a view to mislead. At eleven o'clock, the hour fixed for the meeting, the Duke of Northumberland opened the royal apartment; but on entering it was found empty. As soon as the king's flight was made public, the fury of the populace of London vented itself on the Roman Catholics. They attacked their houses, destroyed their chapels, broke open the residences of the Spanish and Florentine ambassadors, in which there were chapels, and made special search for Father Petre, who, however, had fled some days before. Sutherland took flight, in woman's attire, and safely reached Rotterdam. But Lord Chancellor Jeffreys was recognised in the disguise of a sailor, and dragged, amidst the cries and violent assaults of the mob, before the lord mayor, who committed him for safety to the Tower, where he died some months afterwards, before he could be brought to trial. The pope's nuncio attempted to escape in the tumult with the carriage of the ambassador of Savoy, and got up behind as a footman; but he also was recognised and detained, till a passport from the prince set him at liberty.

On the receipt of the welcome intelligence of the king's flight, William hastened his march towards London; but here he was grieved and surprised to learn that the king, when about to embark, had been seized, ill treated, and plundered by some fishermen, who were in quest of Roman Catholic priests, and who, from his sunken cheeks, had mistaken him for Father Petre. The king at length told them who he was, whereupon he was brought to Feversham, where the magistrates endeavoured to protect him against the lawless multitude, who were alternately addressed with threats and abject entreaties, by the bewildered and stupified monarch. Two officers at last appeared at the head-quarters, and announced that the king was in safe custody, and entirely at the disposal of his highness the prince. "Why did not you let him go?" said Dr. Burnet. Meantime, James found opportunity to send a letter to London by a peasant. Thirty peers were sitting at Whitehall, who, at this critical moment, had ventured to take upon themselves the management of the public affairs. When they were informed of the king's distress, they despatched 200 guards, commanded by Lord Feversham, under whose protection James returned to Whitehall. There he learned that these peers Dec. 16. had already entered into a communication with the Prince of Orange, and had sent him an address, thanking him for having come over to deliver England from popery and slavery. From them, therefore, he could look for no support. He then sent a message to his son-in-law, desiring an interview. The prince was at Windsor. He placed the royal commissioner, Lord Feversham, under arrest, and declined an inter-

view, alleging that he could not venture into the capital while it was occupied by the royal troops. When James drove through the streets of London, on the morning after his arrival, many persons had cheered him as he passed. Might he still hope that an appeal to the affection of the capital would be successful? Two aldermen were sent for, to whom the king declared that he was ready, on being assured of his personal safety, to remain in the hands of the faithful citizens of London till a new parliament should have redressed all their grievances. The aldermen, however, declined giving such a guarantee, because they could not promise what they were not sure of being able to perform. They were indeed right; for on the same night Whitehall was occupied by Dutch troops, Count Solms, their commander, justifying himself to the king by a written order of the prince. In the following night the king was roused from his sleep by the Marquis of Halifax and Lords Shrewsbury and Delamere, who brought him directions, in writing, from the prince, to quit Whitehall in the morning, and retire to Ham, a country seat of the Duchess Dowager of Lauderdale, for the sake of the tranquillity of the capital and the king's greater security. James, however, requested leave to go to Rochester, and was conveyed in the royal barge to Gravesend, escorted by Dutch
Dec. 18. guards. Three hours after his departure, William was at St. James's, with 6000 men. His first care was to convoke an assembly of the peers, that they might take the state of the nation into their consideration. It was opened on the 21st, and attended by about seventy peers, spiritual and temporal. The

prince entered, and addressed them as follows:— "My lords, I have desired to meet you here to advise on the best manner to attain the object of my public declaration, by calling a free parliament, for the preservation of the Protestant religion, and restoring the rights and liberties of the kingdom, and securing them against the danger of being again subverted." Immediately after speaking these words he withdrew. They proclaimed the great truth that he came not in the spirit of his namesake, William the Conqueror, who had crossed the seas 622 years before. If ever prince had the prospect of dominion, the Prince of Orange was the man; but, while his foot strode over the corpse of the ruler, he ever respected the rights of the subject.

Public affairs were now come to such a crisis, that two ways only were left — to depose James, or so to weaken the royal authority, that the Crown would lose the power of protecting the liberties of the people. James opened, of his own accord, however, a third way: after having spent four days at Rochester in useless brooding, after having failed in an attempt to engage the superior clergy to guarantee his personal safety, he met the wishes of his opponent, and quitted the field, continually reflecting on the words of his unhappy father — "There are but a few steps from the prison of a king to his grave." James's prison was still spacious and airy, closed only on the land side. The way to escape was pointed out to him, by leaving unguarded the whole of the garden-side of the neighbouring banks of the Thames, which was at a short distance from the open sea. His resolution was fixed by a letter from his impatient queen, who was extremely uneasy at his delay. William

had caused the letter to be opened, and forwarded to him. On the 23d of December, soon after midnight, James proceeded through the garden to the bank of the river, accompanied by his natural son the Duke of Berwick, and a few attendants. After a stormy pas-
Dec. 25. sage of two days, he landed at Ambleteuse, on the coast of France. Thence he proceeded to St. Germain-en-Laye, where King Louis had prepared a retreat for his queen and his son, and fitted it up with lavish generosity. Louis introduced him in person to this residence, where a splendid establishment, and 50,000 dollars a month awaited him, which did not, as formerly, cost him any negotiation. The two monarchs embraced each other for as long a time as might suffice to repeat a Paternoster; but the French gazed with astonishment at the strange mortal who, as they said, had given three kingdoms for a mass. About the same time William received the sacrament of the Lord's supper from the hands of the Bishop of London; and Oliver Cromwell's political dream of a union between Great Britain and the republic of the Netherlands seemed on the point of being realised.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Solution.

PREVIOUS to his flight, James wrote a declaration, the substance of which was, that, "after the Prince of Orange had treated him in the shameful manner that was known to all the world, and taken pains to depict him as black as hell, especially by the unworthy accusation of fraud in respect to his son, he could not, with a just regard for his own safety, remain any longer in the kingdom, but hoped that the day would come when men's eyes would be opened." The Lords, who were then assembled to the number of 90, resolved that this declaration should not be read, and on Christmas-day took upon themselves to confer on the Prince of Orange the supreme power over England and Ireland, till the 22d of January, and specially empowered him to summon a meeting of Parliament for that day. This assembly, not being convoked by the Crown, was to be called a convention, but it was to deliberate in the parliament house, and in a parliamentary form, to consider the state of the nation, and to consolidate its welfare. The prince, however, justly hesitated to accept such great powers from the hands of the Lords alone; he needed a declaration of the will of the people, and, in expectation of what might take place, he had already given the first impulse. The lord mayor, the aldermen, and fifty members of the common council of London, were

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summoned to the Lower House, and to these were added as many of the members of the various Parliaments of Charles II. as could be collected. They
Dec. 26. met on the 26th of December, in the House of Commons, conscious, however, that they did not properly constitute a House. But the time was come when, in conjunction with that imperfect representation of a House of Lords, they were compelled to make every effort to save the state. When, in peculiar circumstances, men do the best that is possible to be done, they act not only properly but legally; and in this spirit, this extempore House of Commons declared that it was lawfully summoned by the Prince of Orange, and assented to the temporary concession of the supreme power to the prince, who now ac-
Dec. 28. cepted the full authority offered to him.

The new ruler met with obedience, and, what is more, with good-will. A loan of 100,000*l.* for the public service was raised in four days, by voluntary contributions: the Roman Catholic officers disappeared from the navy, and the army ejected all officers whose fidelity was doubtful: these measures were justified by the urgency of the case, for it was notorious that Barillon had left England, and that King Louis had already caused an English merchantman to
1689. be captured. Meanwhile the elections commenced with the new year, and William insured their freedom by removing all the troops from the boroughs. At the same time political questions of the highest importance crossed each other: "Shall the king be recalled?" This was, on the whole, the opinion of those bishops who inculcated passive obedience, while they would have royalty so fettered that it should not be able to move a finger against the sacred rights of the Esta-

blished Church. The great majority of the people would not have any thing more to do with James. Why should not one of his daughters succeed him? But which of them? And why have a female government, now that the choice is open? How far preferable to have William, the deliverer of England, who by his mother's side was a Stuart, and the husband of a Stuart, whose equal was not to be found in the whole world, especially since the recent death of the Great Elector of Brandenburg? There was yet another system which promised to combine many interests. This was, to let William be Regent, till the death of James, or till his son was of age. This solution seemed to reconcile the actual state of things with the hereditary right to the throne; and perhaps the guarantee of the ancient fundamental constitution depended on it: for, among those who desired that William should be king, there was a considerable party who, on this occasion, would have willingly converted the Crown of England into a kind of Dutch Stadtholderate; and here the secret adherents of the republic built their hopes: all these questions were eagerly discussed in a host of pamphlets, and formed the topic of daily discourse. The censorship of the press still subsisted, but who would have ventured with its scissors to contend against the thousands who were armed with swords and muskets in defence of freedom of thought?

When, however, the Convention assembled, the two extreme measures, which apparently were the most remote, but in truth perhaps the nearest to each other, were abandoned. Neither the restoration of James, nor a republic, were alluded to. The letters which James addressed to the two Houses were not

even opened. The Church and the Tories were anxious for a regency; they were opposed by the party which desired that William should be king, but this party was divided into two sections: one, headed by Lord Danby, was for giving him the nominal title of Majesty, and the authority to Mary: while the other would invest him with the full royal authority, in which they agreed with Lord Halifax, who had
Jan. 22. become President of the House of Peers. William opened the session by a message to the Lords and Commons, recommending unanimity and expedition. "For the Protestants in Ireland," he observed, "required speedy assistance; Holland might be forced to recall its troops, and perhaps even to demand the assistance of England against France." The Houses replied, in an address expressive of warm gratitude, and requested the prince to continue his administration for the present, as his full powers would otherwise expire on the first day of the session. They then adjourned for six days, but the more eager was the struggle of the contending forces without the walls of
Jan. 28. Parliament; and when they reassembled on the appointed day, the impulse was given by the Commons, who met in the form of a Committee of the whole House, of which Hampden, grandson of the great John Hampden, was Chairman: it resolved, "that King James II. having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom by breaking the original contract between the king and the people, and having, by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons, violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, hath *abdicated* the government, and that the throne is thereby become

vacant." The House having resumed, agreed to this motion, which Hampden presented at the Bar of the Lords. On the following day the Commons further voted, "that it hath been found by experience to be inconsistent with the security and welfare of this Protestant kingdom to be governed by a popish prince." By this resolution, as far as the Commons were concerned, the son of James was excluded from the succession to the throne.

In the Upper House, the Clarendons held with the party which did not agree with the Commons that the throne was *vacant;* the question whether there should be a king or a regent was decided in favour of a king, by a majority of 51 to 49. The consideration prevailed that it was bewildering the people's conscience to set up two kings, the one with the right without the power, the other with the power without the right. Yet how small was the majority which determined this question! The Lords decided by a rather greater majority, that there was an original contract between the king and people, and that James had broken it; but the Peers cancelled in the first resolution of the Commons the word "abdicated," and substituted for it "deserted," and also struck out the words "and the throne is thereby become vacant." By these amendments, the hereditary succession of James's children was maintained, whether the son or the daughter succeeded. The proposal to declare the Prince and Princess of Orange king and queen was negatived by a majority of five votes. Now, as the Lords had unanimously agreed to the resolution of the Commons, that no Papist should be king, the only course left, if they would act consistently, was to recog-

Feb. 7.

nise the Princess Mary, the eldest daughter of James, as their queen.

Feb. 2. But the Commons rejected all the amendments of the Lords, and in a declaration drawn up by Hampden, insisted on the vacancy of the throne, and desired a conference with the Lords by deputies from both Houses. To this end, each House appointed its most distinguished members, for the question at issue was, either peace or a return to all the horrors of an interminable civil war. In this conference the Lords alleged that, even if James had deserted, or as the Commons would have it, abdicated the government, the latter of which included a voluntary renunciation, yet there did not follow such a vacancy of the throne as could render the Crown elective: for that the monarchy was hereditary, according to the fundamental Constitution, and therefore no act proceeding from the king alone, could destroy the hereditary right of those who were entitled to the succession.

The arguments of the Lords were conformable to the principles of the Constitution in the ordinary course of things, while those of the Commons were enforced by the imperative urgency of the inevitable crisis. "If the throne is not vacant," said Hampden, "tell us who fills it." "The word 'deserted,'" said another of the Commons, "implies the right of returning; abdication is renunciation: do you desire a resumption?" To this the deputies of the Upper House replied: "Is there an abdication which is not voluntary? Look in Grotius." To this the Commons replied, "We do not desire to make the Crown always elective." So much they conceded; and thus the opinions of both parties approximated. The sum and sub-

stance of all the conflicting principles was, that the Lords rejected the Papist James and his son; the Commons boldly advanced a step further in favour of William. "If a fault has been committed," said the Commons, "you were the first to commit it, by confiding the government to William." That was done only as a precautionary measure against King James, without prejudice to his heirs. To this it was replied: "So long as a man lives he has no heirs — *Nemo est hæres viventis.*" Though many irrelevant arguments were adduced, the whole was not a mere prize-fight between pettifoggers and pedants; there was in this agitation of parties an internal conflict of principles, such as may have a powerful influence, even in the breast of an individual who is animated by a noble impulse.

The two parties had approximated, in some measure, but were by no means united, when William, who had hitherto been a passive spectator, turned the scale, by intimating to his friends, that he should not object to a regency, but that he thought it incumbent upon him to tell them, that he would not consent to be regent: neither did he object to their making his consort queen, but he was resolved not to be king by courtesy, nor would he consent to wear the crown only during the life of his wife; he would willingly return to Holland with his army; but if they would retain him, he having no children, was ready to agree that the issue of Anne, Princess of Denmark, should be preferred in the succession to any children he might have by a second wife; he was also willing that Mary's name should be joined with his in all royal acts, but that the Government must appertain to him alone.

Under these circumstances, Lord Danby's zeal carried him so far that he wrote to the Princess of Orange, at the Hague, that it depended only on herself to become Queen of England. But Mary answered that she desired to be nothing more than the wife of the prince, and would not consider any one her friend who should set up a divided interest between her and her husband. At the same time she sent both Danby's letter and her answer to the prince. On this Danby gave way, and both parties agreed that they could come to no settlement without William, as their only alternative was, that he should remain, or they should subject themselves to the vengeful return of James. The House of Lords immediately waved their amendment to the proposals of the Commons, by a small majority; and this obstacle being removed, they proceeded,
Feb. 6. with some haste, and resolved on the 6th of Feb., by a majority of 65 to 45, that the Prince and Princess of Orange should be declared King and Queen of England, and all the dominions thereunto belonging. This occasion furnished an obvious proof of the immense advantage resulting from the profound wisdom of the institution of two Houses, which affords such abundant opportunity for reciprocal communication and correction. The Commons now used greater circumspection, and filled up, at the right moment, the omission of the Lords, by a satisfactory decision of the relative position of the king, in respect to the queen, and to the liberties of England; the sole and full administration to be vested in, and executed by, the Prince of Orange, in the names of the prince and princess, during their joint lives, without prejudice to the preference in the succession, which William had himself proposed to give to the children of Anne.

With respect to the ancient rights and liberties, they resolved to abide by the result of long-tried experience: far from taking advantage of the circumstances of the times, to strip the Crown of its rights, they did rather too little than too much in the "Declaration of Rights," on which the two Houses agreed, on the 12th of Feb. Feb. 12. In this, the convention merely enumerates the principal encroachments of the late king, opposes to them the ancient indubitable rights of the English people, and requests that they may be recognised and confirmed as such. They do not even allude to annual Parliaments, but merely stipulate for frequent Parliaments; and, with respect to the pretended power of dispensing with laws or the execution of laws, that rock on which James's throne was wrecked, they content themselves with declaring that this power, as it has been assumed and exercised of late, is illegal. This having been done, a bill passed both Houses, and was sanctioned by the king, to convert the assembly, which had hitherto acted as a Convention, into a Parliament, and this Parliament made an addition to the old law, by resolving that every dispensation from a law which did not itself rest on a legal enactment, should henceforth be considered as null and void; at the same time it was agreed that the right of succession to the throne should be forfeited by marriage with a Papist. Both these alterations were inserted in the declaration of rights, which was then made a statute, by the name of the "Bill of Rights."

Though the ancient foundation of national rights, as laid under the great Edwards, was regained, yet difficulties of every kind did not escape the penetration of William. It is true, when he looked to his

mother-country, he had nobly fulfilled all his promises: the Protestant religion was more firmly consolidated, and William stood as its head, in the presence of all Europe; England had not become a republic, which Dutch jealousy, recollecting the times of Cromwell, dreaded above all things, and therefore nothing could exceed the rejoicings with which the Netherlands welcomed their stadtholder, the king, whenever he again visited them, during the war with France, of which their country was the theatre for several years. But with respect to England, many inconveniences arose from the composition of his dominions. With Scotland arrange-
April 11. ments were made without much difficulty. In March and April a Convention was assembled, which, in the most explicit terms, declared that King James had forfeited his right to the crown by his evil deeds, including also the "pretended Prince of Wales;" and William and Mary were proclaimed in Scotland, the same day on which they were crowned at Westminster. After the abolition of the Episcopacy, Scotland was restored to a tolerable state of tranquillity. But in Ireland the question whether William or James should be king was decided by arms. When James took leave of Louis, to embark for Ireland, the French king's parting words were, "that the best wish he could form for him was, that he might never see him again." But only a short time after the bloody battle of the Boyne, James was obliged to withdraw for the second time. After 1691, William reigned over Ireland also; but how could he annihilate the wrongs of many centuries, and open a way to the reciprocal forbearance of the several religious parties, when his

plans of toleration were defeated even in England. He did not succeed in procuring the abolition of the Test Act, for the relief of the Protestant dissenters; the utmost he could obtain for them was exemption from punishment; but the Papists, though not persecuted, remained without protection: nay, the Parliament indemnified the notorious Titus Oates, who contrived to survive all honest people, for the persecution that he had undergone, by giving him a pension. So much less advanced was the religious than the political culture of the age; in the latter, men went boldly forwards, and an important step was soon gained by securing the responsibility of the ministers, the king renouncing in this case the right of pardon vested in the Crown.

The first step towards a separation of the administration of the public revenues from the private establishment of the royal family was also taken in this reign, though the object was not fully attained till our own days, under William the Fourth. The same was the case with the liberty of the press, which our political children expect to find among their Christmas toys. It slowly took root under this reign, since the regulations of the censorship were no longer confirmed by Parliament. But an entire century elapsed before aspiring public opinion obtained sufficient protection in the courts of justice. Yet the solid foundation of the independence of the judicial authority was laid under William, by the regulation that the judges in the three superior courts should hold their places for life. William directed his views in the first years of his reign to a union of the parliaments of England and Scotland; and only a few years before

his death he reminded the two Houses of this most important work, the accomplishment of which he did not live to witness. He had been of a weak frame of body from his youth, and the immense labours of his life carried him off even earlier than Cromwell. But Cromwell's ambitious edifice fell to the ground with him; while the work of William was, and ever will be defended by every heart that is animated with ardent love for the welfare of mankind. Though not born to a throne, he reaped the praise most worthy of a king; for England is indebted to him for its liberty, as far as liberty can be given; and William has so boldly and prominently set before the world the greatest of all political questions, that of the civil liberty of nations; has so irresistibly carried it into the very framework of society, that he who knows no better than to close his eyes in terror, and at the best to make the sign of the cross, must, sooner or later, run his head against it.

THE END.

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